The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

A Journal of Religion

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An Editorial

Is the Cooperative Movement Christian?

An Editorial

'Not as the Pharisee'

By Taylor Merrill

A Witness of Jehovah

By Marie Miller

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In This Issue

JAMES MYERS

after a long and conspicuously successful career in the business world, during which several of his experiments with regard to employer-employe relationships attracted national attention, became secretary for industrial relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. In that position, Mr. Myers has taken a leading part in investigating and, in some cases, bringing to a settlement some of the most bitterly contested strikes of recent years. At the present time Mr. Myers' department of the Federal council is leading in the organization of church members to study the social and religious implications of the cooperative movement, now being presented to the American public by Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan.

MARIE MILLER

is the wife of a leading official of the school system in one of the largest cities of the east. The incident reported in her article is, we are assured, a true one.

TAYLOR MERRILL

is a journalist, now on the staff of a Washington newspaper.

ALFRED SCHMALZ

is an associate director of the council for social action of the Congregational and Christian churches, with headquarters at 287 Fourth avenue, New York city. The campaign in behalf of student conscientious objectors against compulsory military drill is being continued; Mr. Schmalz invites readers interested in the immediate case of Mr. Arnold, treated in this article, to write directly to President Compton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston.

J. DEXTER MONTGOMERY

is on the faculty of Ward college, famous missionary institution at Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

March 11, 1936

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Calendar of Coming Events

Mar. 9-13. Kagawa lectures, Southern Baptist Theological seminary, Louisville, Ky.
Mar. 13. Western Washington conference of Baptist laymen, Seattle, Wash.
Mar. 14. Second annual youth conference Boston federation of churches, interdenominational, First Congregational church, Cambridge, Mass.
Mar. 15. Chicago Sunday evening club; John Timothy Stone speaker.
Mar. 16, 17. Seminar on human relations, auspices Chicago round table Jews and Christians, Thorne hall, Northwestern university.
Mar. 16-18. Midwinter retreat, Iowa Disciple pastors, University Christian church, Des Moines.
Mar. 17, 18. Kagawa lectures, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Mar. 20. Meeting executive committee, Federal council of churches, New York.
Mar. 20, 21. Northampton, Lehigh and Carbon counties youth conference, Wesley Methodist church, Bethlehem, Pa.
Mar. 20-22. Colorado youth conference, interdenominational, Denver, Colo.
Mar. 22. Chicago Sunday evening club; Halford E. Luccock speaker.
Mar. 22-25. National institute, Goodwill industries, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mar. 24-26. General council of the Northern Baptist convention, La Salle hotel, Chicago.
Mar. 25. Wilmington annual conference, Delmar, Del.
Mar. 25. Washington annual conference, Metropolitan church, Baltimore, Md.
Mar. 27-29. 15th annual Methodist youth conference, Calvary church, Philadelphia.
Mar. 29. Chicago Sunday evening club, Bernard C. Clausen speaker.
Apr. 1. Delaware annual conference, Philadelphia.
Apr. 1. New England Methodist conference, Melrose, Mass.
Apr. 4. Dr. Kagawa, Utica, N. Y.
Apr. 5. Chicago Sunday evening club; Silas Evans speaker.
Apr. 5. Ford hall forum, Boston; John Haynes Holmes speaker.
Apr. 12. Chicago Sunday evening club; George Craig Stewart speaker.
Apr. 12. Ford hall formum, Boston; John T. Flynn speaker.
Apr. 12. Easter Sunday.
Apr. 15. Central Pennsylvania annual conference, Harrisburg, Pa.
Apr. 15. New Hampshire Methodist conference, Littleton, Mass.
Apr. 16. Newark annual conference, Newark, N. J.
Apr. 16. New York annual conference.
Apr. 16. Northern New York annual conference.
Apr. 16. Troy annual conference, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Apr. 16, 17. South Pacific Baptist women's annual district meeting, Long Beach, Calif.
Apr. 18, 19. Illinois Baptist youth congress, high school auditorium, Alton, Ill.
Apr. 19. Chicago Sunday evening club; Harry Emerson Fosdick speaker.
Apr. 19, 20. Addresses under auspices of Massachusetts council of churches, Toyohiko Kagawa, Boston.
Apr. 22. Bishops' meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Apr. 28. Central Baptist women's annual district meeting, Woodlawn church, Chicago, Ill.
June 20-24. First National Hi-Y congress, Berea, Ky.
Apr. 23, 24. Dr. Kagawa in Springfield and Connecticut valley.
Apr. 26. Chicago Sunday evening club; M. H. Lichliter speaker.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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EDITORIAL

SUCH figures as the American federation of labor has released covering the increase in unemployment during January are far more disquieting than the press has acknowledged. Without regard to the partisan considerations which occupy attention just now, they indicate that the foundation on which we have been trying to build industrial recovery is rotted through, and growing more rotten. Unemployment, according to the A. F. of L., increased by 1,229,000 workers in January—the largest increase during any January in five years. Month by month employment had been gaining, but in this single month the total gain of 1,554,000 registered between December 1934 and December 1935 was reduced by a third. The loss in January this year was almost 700,000 larger than the loss in January a year ago. At the same time that these figures on unemployment's growth were coming out the business index of the New York Times showed, for almost the first time in a year, drops in every group except electric power production. What is the reason for this sudden turn of business figures in the wrong direction? So far as employment is concerned, the A. F. of L. declares that there has been a sufficient increase in working hours since the NRA was destroyed to wipe out a million jobs. And so far as the drop in carloadings, automobile production, steel output and things like that goes, it looks to us as though the effect of the AAA decision was just beginning to register. But it is that unemployment figure which should disturb the nation's sleep. Twelve and a half million people out of work means a quarter of the working population!

Unemployment Is Growing Again

Young Mr. Taft Is Drafted

SENATOR BORAH'S contention that the old-line leadership of the republican party is getting ready to put over on the country another "smoke-filled room" nomination is proved to the hilt by what has happened in Ohio. There the other candidates for the republican nomination—Governor Landon, Senator Vandenberg, Colonel Knox and Senator Dickinson—one after another declined to enter the primaries. Then suddenly, the regular state party organization announced that a ticket would be run to elect delegates to secure the nomination of Ohio's "favorite son." And who was Ohio's favorite son? Why, none other than Mr. Robert A. Taft, of Cincinnati, son of former President Taft, Yale '10 and Harvard '13! Yet strangely enough, on the list of the "Taft" delegates appear the names of Mr. Clarence J. Brown, Ohio manager for Colonel Knox, and of Mr. Walter F. Brown—Mr. Hoover's Mr. Farley—Ohio manager for Governor Landon. Does this fool anybody? Of course not. It is a transparent political trick, a device by which to avert the chance that voters may take a direct part in choosing nominees for the highest office in the nation and to induce them to hand the selection of a party leader over to the same process which gave the country the Harding scandal. The candidates who are opposing Senator Borah for the republican nomination may be as noble in their desire to serve the republic and as patriotic in their motives as they, and their backers, insist. But the performance to which they have become party in Ohio is cheap politics, designed to play into the hands of political manipulators of the most brazen sort, and Senator Borah will deserve well of his country—whatever the outcome next November—for blasting it as it deserves.

The Substitute Farm Bill Goes Through

SIGNED by President Roosevelt, the so-called "soil conservation" bill which is expected to provide the farm states with an acceptable substitute for the AAA has been made a law. As enacted, the bill became an attempt to kill two agricultural birds with one legislative stone, and the result is a law which will probably suffer short shrift at the hands of the supreme court, if it ever gets there. The bill is composed of a program for soil conservation to which has been added a direction to the department of agriculture to secure parity for farm prices. The two proposals really have no business in the same law, and there is some danger lest their incompatibility wreck the operations of the entire measure. With the purpose of the bill, most of the country will probably be in accord. Deprived of

AAA benefits by the supreme court, the farmer is now to be granted half a billion dollars a year not for refraining from doing something but for doing something. Let him shift something like 30,000,000 acres from the crops now grown to grass and leguminous plants (the first a check to erosion; the second a fertilizing agent) and this government aid will be distributed. For two years the distribution will be made, as it was under the AAA, directly from the federal government to the farmer. After that, it will pass through bureaus in states which enact agricultural laws that meet the approval of the secretary of agriculture. So far so good. But before the bill became a law there bobbed up in it a provision granting the secretary of agriculture blanket power to use this half billion as he sees fit to achieve a different aim, namely, to restore the prices paid farmers for their goods to the 1909-1914 level, while seeing to it that the amount of food produced for the city man's table does not fall below the level of 1920-1929. Senator Borah is right in characterizing this as an instruction incapable of human performance. Moreover, the grant of power to an individual officer of the government is so broad that, in the light of past decisions, an adverse ruling by the supreme court must be almost taken for granted. However, it is probable that the main purpose of this legislation is merely to hold the farm situation together until election day. After that, new legislation can be contrived with a favorable supreme court verdict and a permanent policy in view.

Is Mussolini Winning?

ONCE more observers of the hectic European drama can be quite sure that events of major importance are transpiring without being allowed to know what those events are. The feverish speed with which Great Britain has leaped to rearm, the racing back and forth of diplomatic messengers between Berlin and Rome, the gathering of the league's committees at Geneva—all these things mean something out of the ordinary. But what? By next week perhaps we shall know. Meanwhile, the only thing certainly known is that the Italian army has won a sweeping victory in northern Ethiopia, and that its road has apparently been opened to advance on Addis Ababa unless the rains intervene. Whatever the political reasons that may have been involved, the replacing of General Bono, the fascist, by Marshal Badoglio, the professional soldier, and of fascist militia by line troops, has returned good military results. Italy now seems within reach of that smashing military victory from which, from the first, only her own ineptness has held her back. In view of these military developments it is reasonable to believe that the rumors that Haile Selassie has opened indirect negotiations looking toward peace are well founded. But what are those terms to be? Mr. Eden gave parliament a hint when he stated that they might be based on the report of the league committee which recommended economic and social assistance for Ethiopia, a special economic position for Italy in Ethiopia, and an exchange of territory between Italy and Ethiopia. Yet if Mussolini, with Marshal Badoglio's victories in hand, consents to negotiate, it is hard to believe that he will be ready to translate these general terms laid down by the league committee into any less drastic detailed provisions than did the ill-fated Hoare-Laval scheme, which he scorned. But if Mussolini compels victorious terms, what is France to think of the prospect for her north African colonies when the inevitable next urge comes upon fascism to expand? Is it fantastic to suppose that M. Flandin, in his secret intercourse with Captain Eden, has already begun to face that question?

The Franco-Soviet Pact Is Ratified

MAKING his maiden speech as foreign minister, Mr. Anthony Eden admitted to the house of commons that what is happening in Europe today is "dreadfully similar in character and portent" to what happened "before 1914." Surely this ill-omened similarity attaches far more to the pact "for mutual assistance" between the soviet union and France, finally ratified a few days ago by the French parliament, than to any other development of recent months. So far as the world knows, this pact merely applies the so-called "Locarno principle" to the European affairs of the two signatories. In case either is the victim of aggression, as defined by the league covenant, the other will come to its assistance. In this respect, Moscow claims, there is all the difference in the world between this commitment and that by which, in 1914, the republic under M. Poincaré and the empire under Nicholas II found themselves in active alliance against the empires of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs. A legal case can be made for this disclaimer, but it has little political reality. Both the old and the new compacts were essentially the same in being contrived primarily to checkmate Germany. They both sought to maintain a European status quo by threatening offenders with an overwhelming alliance of military forces. The dreadful similarity in character and portent of which Mr. Eden speaks is too clear to be overlooked. However, the effect which the ratification of this Franco-Russian pact has on the map of Europe is by no means restricted to the checkmating of Germany. It is now true that, taking France's other understandings into account, Germany lies within the sweep of a military arc extending from the Baltic to the channel ports. But it is also true that the curve of this arc can be reversed to show Italy caught within its encirclement.

Sentence of "Admonition" for Presbyterian Found Guilty

THE judicial machinery of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America has ground its way slowly and dispassionately to a conclusion in the case of one of its ministers who was charged with an offense against the government and discipline, the peace, unity and purity, and the lawful authority of the

church, in that he persisted in serving as a member of the Independent board of Presbyterian foreign missions after the general assembly had directed all ministers and laymen of the church to sever their connection with that board. The special judicial commission of the presbytery of Chicago was the tribunal. Rev. James Oliver Buswell, jr., was the defendant. The verdict was guilty. The argument, in brief, was this: The constitution of this church vests in its general assembly the power of "superintending the concerns of the whole church" and specifically authorizes it to conduct missions. It further provides that, while members may associate themselves for special missionary work, any such organizations covering territory greater than a synod shall be responsible to the general assembly. The Independent board is, in fact, such an organization. Though the defendant claims that it does not purport to be an agency of the Presbyterian church, it carries on work of a Presbyterian character under the Presbyterian name and draws its support from Presbyterian churches without being subject to the Presbyterian church government. The accused alleges that the official board, supported by the general assembly, countenances teachings contrary to the word of God, and says he must obey God rather than man. The judicial commission agrees that he must do the will of God as he understands it, but adds that this does not give him the right both to remain in the church and at the same time to resist the highest constitutional agencies of the church. If a Presbyterian believes that the general assembly of his church is heretical, he can protest or he can withdraw from the church. But he cannot withdraw from the authority of the general assembly without withdrawing from the church. That is the kind of organization the Presbyterian church has, and if one does not accept it he is not a good Presbyterian. The verdict was decisive, but the sentence was not severe: "admonition."

Positively the Last Appearance Of the Goodwin Plan

SIX months ago (September 25, 1935) The Christian Century printed an anticipatory obituary of the Goodwin plan, stating that the final *Hic jacet* could not be carved upon its tombstone until the court had taken action upon conflicting petitions for involuntary bankruptcy and for reorganization under section 77-b of the federal bankruptcy act. The former petition prevailed. The stonecutter can now proceed. Liabilities of the corporation approximate $300,000. Assets consist of office furniture, three million catalogues, and a list of 260,000 names of church women who at one time had agreed to serve as "broadcasters." The furniture is better than most. The catalogues can go back to a paper mill. The names are good names, but useless now for the purpose for which they were collected. One of the reasons, among several, for the sudden and complete disaster that overwhelmed the project was that the names were better than the enterprise. The ladies thought well of the plan until they had had time to think twice about it, and then their good sense prevailed. Other commentators see other reasons for the failure: excessive expenditures for promotion; disadvantages to manufacturers upon whose cooperation the scheme depended; opposition of the religious press; unwieldiness of structure. Probably these all had something to do with it. But in our judgment the fatal fact was that, by the time the project was fully organized for action and had partially overcome the initial difficulty in getting any important manufacturers to enter into the contract, the church women who had signed up as agents had discovered that it put the church in a false position in relation to business and gave promise of producing nothing but trouble for those who went into it, and they withdrew.

Were Puerto Rico Nationalists Victims of Ley de Fuga?

THE nationalist movement in Puerto Rico, campaigning and conspiring to gain independence from the United States and to set up the island and its people as a sovereign nation, received a setback from the assassination of Colonel Riggs, insular chief of police, by nationalists. But the effect of this crime on public opinion was more than counterbalanced by the killing of two young nationalists by the police. They had confessed their part in the murder and were in custody. They were shot by the police, who claim that the youths were reaching for their guns and so were shot in self-defense and to prevent their escape. Perhaps they were. Of course it is not usual for captured assassins to be left in possession of firearms for even a moment after their arrest, and it will require extraordinary evidence to prove that it was so in this case. Possibly it can be proved, though only the police were present and it is generally not very difficult to plant a gun on a dead man, in the absence of unbiased witnesses, to prove that he was killed in self-defense. The episode is unpleasantly reminiscent of the *ley de fuga* under which it has long been customary, in Latin American countries, to simplify the procedure against criminals and revolutionists by shooting them on the pretense that they were attempting to escape. If the United States is going to retain its sovereignty over Puerto Rico by other than strong-arm methods, it is particularly necessary that no suspicion be allowed to stand that such tactics are being employed to circumvent the law abolishing capital punishment and to avenge the murdered chief of police. At present such a suspicion exists. The sooner the facts, whatever they are, can be made clear by a thorough investigation, the better it will be for American prestige in the island and for American self-respect at home.

Self-Censorship Urged Upon Political Speakers

SPEAKING at Rollins college the other day, and over the air at the same time, Mr. Owen D. Young uttered wise words about freedom of speech over the radio. It could, of course, be taken for granted that he would be in favor of the widest liberty of discussion,

and he expressed no apprehension lest there might be encroachment upon that liberty by either political or economic control. If such a danger exists, that is another story. But what he was saying—and it was a thing that greatly needed to be said—was that radio speakers in a year of political excitement ought to be their own censors. Loose and lurid political oratory is bad enough under any conditions, but the limitations of audience and influence that surround the traditional type of face-to-face campaigning impose corresponding limits upon the harmful effects of personalities, innuendo, appeals to prejudice and all the other materials that make up the ordinary spellbinder's bag of tricks. But when a man stands before the microphone and, potentially at least, has the nation for his audience, those limits are off and the speaker must set higher standards for himself and establish the limits of propriety beyond which he will not pass. If the speaker has any adequate sense of responsibility, those limits will be far within the bounds that would be fixed by any official censorship, even if we had one. Mr. Young made adverse criticism of recent radio utterances by Mr. Hoover, Governor Smith and Senator Robinson, and he appealed not only to these men but also to the President—whom he was too respectful to criticize specifically—to set an example to less eminent spokesmen of all parties in the exercise of a restraint proportionate to the responsibility of those who use an instrument so powerful as the radio. The listeners can help too. If a political speaker argues, hear him, no matter what side he is on. If he descends to the cheap tricks of political buncombe, tune him out.

Britain Untangles Tithes and Queen Anne's Bounty

NO ONE but a specialist deeply versed in English civil and ecclesiastical law can either make or understand a complete and accurate statement in regard to "tithes" and "Queen Anne's bounty." It will be safest, therefore, simply to report the fact that the British government has announced its intention of seeking the immediate passage of a law doing away with the whole thing and ending the chronic annoyance and resistance which the perpetuation of the complicated medieval system has entailed. In its simplest original form, the tithe was a tax on income from land for the support of the church. Laws for its enforcement are found in Europe as early as the Capitularies of Charlemagne, and in England long before the conquest. Holders of ecclesiastical benefices were also expected to pay to the pope the whole of the first year's income and one-tenth thereafter, but these *annates* and *decimae* were diverted from pope to king by Henry VIII and remained a perquisite of the crown until the time of Queen Anne. After that the whole subject became increasingly intricate by reason of attempts to remedy abuses. Tithes for the support of the church had become transferable, and in many parishes the right to collect them had become the property of laymen. Tithe commutation acts in the middle of the nineteenth century and later did something to clear up the tangle, but not nearly enough. The poorer parishes have long been accustomed to depend on Queen Anne's bounty, including such tithes as could be collected, but hundreds of landowners who are unwilling to support the Anglican church have resisted payment, and some of them have gone to jail. A bond issue of about $350,000,000 is to take the place of the tithes. That will eliminate a great deal of confusion; but it will also fasten upon the nation as a whole, which is not Anglican as a whole, an obligation of that amount for the support of the Anglican church.

Is the Cooperative Movement Christian?

IN the cooperative movement the Christian church has discovered what seems to be a way of moral release for its long pent-up economic convictions. The social gospel has laid a great burden upon the Christian conscience. This burden has been made heavier by a certain feeling of helplessness, a sense that there was not much of anything that could be done about it. This has been especially true of the economic aspect of the social gospel. The competitive profit system stands under almost universal condemnation by enlightened Christians. Its absolute antithesis to every principle of the Christian teaching is generally recognized. But there has been precious little practical activity on behalf of a Christian economic ideal. There appeared to be no place to take hold. Our congregations have grown accustomed to strong words of condemnation from the pulpit. This denunciatory preaching has been received with indulgence by hard-headed realists in the pews because they were sure that it would lead to no specific activity, and with inner distress by the more conscientious because they saw no practical way of giving vent to their moral feelings.

There have been plenty of proposals—varying all the way from political socialism, through various profit-sharing schemes of industrial production, to the renunciation of all wealth after the fashion of St. Francis of Assisi. None of these proposals, admirable though some of them seemed to be, has satisfied the Christian social conscience. They have not been welcomed by the church as something integral to its spiritual purposes. The cooperative movement has now come into the focus of the church's attention and is making a far more potent appeal than any concrete program has ever made as a plan of Christian activity on the economic level. Awareness of the Christian aspect of this movement has been greatly intensified by the presence in America of Dr. Kagawa who has inspired an extensive development of cooperation in Japan and who sees the cooperative movement as an integral part of the Christian gospel. The movement has taken on fresh significance in business circles by the recent gift of a million dollars by Edward A. Filene, the Boston merchant, for the promotion of the cooperative organization.

The American churches have been a little slow in

grasping the significance of the cooperative for their social idealism. It was twenty-five years ago that Walter Rauschenbusch called their attention to the movement which had then been in existence in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries for three-quarters of a century. Said he:

> Few people in America . . . have any idea of the scope and importance of the modern cooperative associations. . . . Their immediate aim is to save the middleman's profit for their own members, to insure them clean and unadulterated goods and honest weights and measures, to save them from the parasitic trickery of the petty middleman and the usury of the money shark who exploits the poor, to train their people to frugality by cash payments and small savings, and to secure for the working class and the lower middle class some share in social wealth and profit.
>
> Every cooperative association encounters the same initial difficulties as any other business concern. They have to meet the most efficient survivors of capitalistic competition. They usually start with little capital and less experience, a double lack that would almost certainly be fatal to an ordinary business undertaking. There have been many failures . . . but taking them in the large they have demonstrated their economic fitness just as convincingly as the corporation . . . yet they rest on a different basis. The corporation is a product of the business class and takes its psychological coloring from it. The cooperative is an organization of the earning classes, the industrial workers, the small farmers, and the lower middle classes, and it draws its strength from their peculiar moral qualities.

Rauschenbusch's interpretation of the cooperative movement may have had something to do with the decision of the Federal council of churches, two years later, to send a commission to study cooperation in Europe. It did this on the ground that "if there is in cooperation a system of business based on brotherhood and Christian ethics it is worth while for the churches in the United States to become more familiar with it." The chairman, Mr. C. O. Hill, came back with a glowing report. He claimed that the movement had achieved "incalculably great and good results" for European peasants and that in America it would mean educational betterment, the promotion of thrift, honesty, independence, self-respect, democracy, peace, political efficiency, brotherhood and religion. This report, though published at the time, was buried in the files, only to be resurrected and reissued in recent weeks by Mr. E. R. Bowen of the Cooperative league.

It was not to Protestants alone that cooperation made its appeal. In 1919, the National Catholic Welfare conference, in a meeting in Washington, D. C., set forth its position with reference to the cooperatives as follows:

> More important and more effective than any government regulation of prices would be the establishment of cooperative stores. . . . Very few serious efforts of this kind have been made in this country because our people have not felt the need of these cooperative enterprises as keenly as the European working classes, and because we have been too impatient and too individualistic to make the necessary sacrifices to be content with moderate benefits and gradual progress. . . . When the working classes have learned to make the sacrifices and to exercise the patience required by the ownership and operation of cooperative stores, they will be equipped to undertake a great variety of tasks and projects which benefit the community immediately and all its constituent members ultimately.

These insights of two decades ago which seemed to flicker out have now been rekindled. Kagawa's preaching and his presence are significant in that he is bringing the cooperative idea and the Christian social conscience together, revealing the one as a practical and substantial implementation of the other. It is important to examine them both in this relationship in order that we may see how far and in what sense cooperative economics are an expression of the Christian ethics. We have in mind the raising of a somewhat more fundamental question than those practical considerations offered by Mr. James Myers elsewhere in this issue.

At once we are halted by the fact that the cooperative movement does not claim to be anti-capitalist in the sense of proposing to abolish private property or the profit system. It takes the economic system as it is. It wants to reform it, modify it, democratize it, expand its benefits, utilize it. Whereas competitive capitalism makes great profits for the few, cooperative capitalism would earn modest profits for the many. Competitive capitalism accepts the struggle for economic existence in terms of theoretical individualism, while cooperative capitalism would mitigate this struggle by the principle of sharing within the membership of the cooperative. It would distribute the risks, share the benefits, and by its own solidarity insure successful competition with that portion of industry, agriculture and merchandising which remains on a non-cooperative basis.

There can be no question that within the boundaries of a specific cooperative organization we have a manifestation of the Christian spirit of brotherhood. The fact that it is also profitable does not discount its ethical significance. Brotherhood, like godliness, ought to be profitable. What makes the cooperative system seem more Christian than our established order is that it is a way in which economic goods can be secured with considerable mitigation of the sharpness of competition which goes with non-cooperative capitalism.

The essential principle of the cooperative movement is the organization of the consumer. This means the organization of the market. The market, under capitalism, has always been theoretically free, that is unorganized, individualistic, and therefore helpless. In theory, this conception of an organized market lies at the basis of both planned economy and socialism. The difference is that their organization of the market is projected on a vaster scale and under government authority. The cooperative is a plan by which the market can be organized voluntarily, in small units—neighborhoods, or other groups. No new legislation is required. The capitalistic system is not upset, not even challenged. Cooperation is a device, under this interpretation, to beat capitalism at its own game.

A cooperative in its simplest form is the application of the principle of the stock company to a group of consumers, as such. As a group unit it operates within the framework of the competitive system, buying its goods from those producers who will sell cheapest, but distributing its goods to its members on a non-competitive principle. When, however, this consumers' cooperative becomes strong enough to own and operate certain of the means of production, it greatly enlarges the field of cooperation by eliminating competition between production and consumption. To the extent in

which the economic field is covered by the cooperative, the consumer becomes the producer; the producer is now the consumer. Their interests are identical. Competition has been eliminated.

That is to say, competition and the profit motive have been eliminated *within the membership of the cooperative*. But all the operations of the cooperative in relation to the outside world—the purchase of raw materials, the employment of labor, the use of transportation systems, and manifold other connections—must be carried on according to the principles of competition *for the profit of the members of the cooperative*. The cooperative is thus an island of economic sharing surrounded by an ocean of economic competition and participating willy-nilly in that competitive struggle.

Thus the question is bound to arise: what ethical gain has been made by transferring the burden of competitive, profit-motivated struggle from the shoulders of the individual to the organized cooperative? Is not competition when practiced by a group, as such, in the interest of its members, ethically the same as competition practiced by the individual in his own interest?

In the literature of the cooperative movement this question, so far as we have seen, is not raised. On the contrary, the claim is repetitiously put forward that cooperation is not anti-capitalistic, nor anti-profit motive. This claim is put forward as a virtue. But the work of Dr. Kagawa in interpreting cooperation as a Christian program, as the expression on the economic level of the social aspect of the gospel, is bound to raise the question of the capitalistic or anti-capitalistic character of the cooperative movement. If cooperation is conceived as a subsidiary type of organization existing permanently and in principle within the framework of the capitalistic system, it may be economically good business to join it, but it is no easing of the burden which the Christian conscience carries.

Obviously, the only way in which the Christian conscience, as such, can be enlisted in the support of cooperation is to admit frankly—or better, to claim boldly—that it is out to displace the capitalistic system and its competitive profit motivation by a system of production for use. Kagawa's religious interpretation will seem artificial and forced so long as it is accompanied by the declaration of other exponents of the movement that cooperation does not challenge capitalism. True, it does not challenge it in its immediate operations. It is a virtue of cooperation that one can be attached to it without raising the ultimate question. But the ultimate question must be raised explicitly if the movement is to be an expression of religious faith.

To raise this question and to answer it as we believe the Christian conscience will be bound to answer it, demands that the cooperative movement accept a different status for itself from that which its more prudential exponents claim for it. There is forming in the Christian mind a strong conviction that the evil of capitalism is not fully measured by its economic inadequacy, or by its present economic breakdown. The evil of this system lies in its spiritual effects upon the souls of men. An economic order based confessedly upon greed, motivated by greed at every level of its operation, and flowering in an ethical system whose characteristic virtues are but thin disguises of greed, cannot satisfy the Christian conscience even if it could be economically successful. And when its economic incompetence is exposed as it now is, it is a mistake to appeal to the Christian conscience to support any economic measure on the ground that it leaves this system intact.

Japan's Crisis

TWO tremendous movements within Japanese life came to a head-on collision during the closing week of February. Out of this collision burst an attempt by fanatical militarists to overthrow the cabinet and to set up a government which would have held the emperor as helpless a prisoner of the army as the mikado was a prisoner of the shoguns before the restoration of 1868. For days the closest advisers of the emperor were being killed or hunted for killing; the heart of the capital was occupied by revolting troops; the prospect of complete military dictatorship hung heavily over the far east. But today, although all the clouds have not been dissipated, the sun of hope is breaking through. It is even possible to believe that the abortive uprising of the militarists may turn out to have been the decisive event by which Japan has been saved from wrecking the peace of the world.

Foremost in the dramatic Tokyo outbreak stood the so-called "young officer" element in the army. The leaders who ordered moderate members of the cabinet shot, who seized the government buildings across the square from the imperial palace, and who, in many cases, have attempted to expiate their final failure by suicide, were captains and lieutenants. Behind them, however, they had the sympathy of a host of officers of less than field rank, and even of the group of generals who regard General Araki—precipitator of the Manchurian invasion—as their leader. But the readiness of these sinister elements in the army to make this spectacular gamble for power at this juncture can be understood only if the results of the national election, just completed, are borne in mind. It was the sensational rise in the number of proletarian deputies elected to the new diet which convinced the militarists that, if they were to strike for unbridled power, it must be now or never. And by the same token, since the militarists failed the movement toward genuine parliamentary government should gain new power.

Look, then, at the picture which Japan presented during the waning days of last month as these two movements—an aggressive militarism and a rising political consciousness among the common people—converged to cause this explosion. In the country at large, the campaign for the election of a new parliament was drawing to its close. The campaign, according to the press, had been notable only for its apathy. So impotent had parliament proved in the presence of the military that the electorate would not even take the trouble to attend party rallies. Candidates were traveling long distances to address their constituents—and

being greeted by empty halls! The election was about to go by default.

But the election did not go by default. Apparently deaf to the claptrap of the political orators, the masses went to the polls to give the more moderate of the major parties—the minseito—an advantage of thirty seats over the party—the seiyukai—which had declared its willingness to support any army policy on the Asiatic mainland. This produced a reversal of the position of the two parties in the diet. Far more importance, however, attached to the startling jump in the representation of the shakai taishuto, or socialist people's, party from three to eighteen seats. For by adding the five other labor candidates elected as independents, this not only disclosed a sensational growth of the political labor movement, with its anti-militarist promise for the future, but it indicated an immediate prospect of a "proletarian bloc" in the new diet which, at the slightest break in the discipline of the major parties, would be able to exercise a balance of power.

But now look at another portion of this same national picture. What were the fanatical militarists, the saber-rattling "young officers" doing during these weeks while the proletarians were preparing to spring their staggering election surprise? The officers were using their terroristic control over courts and press to turn the court martial of one of their number, Colonel Saburo Aizawa, into a national broadcast for their cause. To the outside world Colonel Aizawa presented the aspect of an unusually cold-blooded, though fanatical, murderer. One day last August, outraged that the choice of the arch-militarist Araki, General Mazaki, had been removed from the important post of inspector-general of military education, Colonel Aizawa, a subordinate in that bureau of the army, hacked Mazaki's successor, General Nagata, to death. When the case was finally brought to trial in February, all elements in the army combined to drag it out day after day, and the press was compelled to spread the "evidence" before the eyes of all Japan.

Properly speaking, there was no conflicting evidence. Colonel Aizawa admitted that he had committed murder; he gloried in the deed. But he was given every facility to lecture the nation on the necessity for handing the government over to the army for unfettered control, and on the patriotic duty which he felt to remove from public life not only all civilian authorities, but all military figures who were willing to compromise with civilians. Assassination was defended as a patriotic necessity above all law, and the claim made without reservation that the glorious destiny of Japan could never be achieved until the "clouds" surrounding the throne had been dissipated. By clouds, Colonel Aizawa meant the men who were marked for death—some of whom did die—when the troops of the first division attempted their coup. Colonel Aizawa's trial, with all its unrestrained jingoism, all its glorification of military ferocity as the highest patriotism, was still dragging on when the explosion came.

Behind the Aizawa trial, of course, it is necessary to recall other things. There had been, to begin with, the assassination of Premier Hamaguchi as punishment for having agreed to the Washington and London naval treaties. There had been the murder of Premier Inukai, Finance Minister Inouye and Baron Dan in 1932—killings justified on exactly the same grounds as the killing of General Nagata, for which paltry four year prison sentences were imposed on the subalterns directly involved. There had been the hounding of Dr. Minobe, Japan's most distinguished political economist, from his post in the Imperial university, after it had been discovered that, in a book written a generation previously, he had spoken of the emperor as an "organ" of the state. (Dr. Minobe, incidentally, was wounded by intended assassins during the recent convulsion.) And finally, there had been the long succession of killings of editors and lesser journalists which finally reduced the newspapers to abject silence concerning the schemes of the most fanatical militarists, or to enthusiastic support of them.

Yet even this picture—the rising proletarian movement on the one side and the unpunished military superjingoism on the other—is not complete without recognition of the presence of at least one more element. Within the army itself, as the events of the past few weeks have made abundantly clear, there was division. The Araki group, drawing its support from the younger officers, might give its support to a fanatical, semi-mystical program of national glorification which believed that by wielding the samurai sword to strike down enemies both without and within, without regard to financial or political consideration, an empire might be built to dazzle the eyes of the world. But there was an older, a more experienced group in the army's highest command, which was by no means ready to embrace this extremist doctrine. Both in Japan and on the Asiatic mainland this group attempted to keep brakes on the hotheads. When the outbreak came, the fanatics were as determined to kill these army moderates as the cabinet members whom they accused of poisoning the emperor's mind.

This, then, was the situation when the "young officers" were shocked out of their complacent absorption in the progress of Colonel Aizawa's trial to read, in the election returns, the clear challenge of the growing proletariat to all that their conception of "patriotism" involved. The uprising of February 26 was the result. It was a sudden, savage onslaught on the centers of power in the Japanese empire, and it came within a hair's breadth of succeeding. Indeed, it may appear when all the facts are known that but for the blunder by which Colonel Matsuo was killed instead of his brother-in-law, Premier Okada, the "young officers" would have succeeded in their desperate gamble to seize control, and the Araki dictatorship, foreshadowed several times during the course of the revolt, would have been established. Had that happened, war in Siberia would almost certainly have been under way before summer.

But the uprising has failed. And it has failed in precisely the manner most calculated to create a revulsion against the extreme militarists in the Japanese mind. It is not so much that these uniformed fanatics have fallen short of their goal; they might have done that

and yet, by proclaiming their super-patriotism, have worked up a popular reaction in their favor. The thing that makes this unlikely, however, is that they blundered so horribly. The dead Colonel Matsuo is much more likely to become a public hero and martyr than any of the young officers who have attempted to atone for their failure with suicide. In the language of the east, such indiscriminate shooting as led to the death of Colonel Matsuo involves the military fanatics in an enormous loss of face. Loss of face involves a setback, for the particular kind of omniscient pretension which Japanese army extremists have proclaimed, far greater than could be suffered in any political campaign. Moreover, the savagery of this outbreak must at last have shown all moderates, military and civilian, that there can be no more trifling with fanaticism of this character if the lives of any in official position are to be secure.

It is still too early, as these words are written, to pronounce anything like final judgment on the recent events in Tokyo. The revolt of the troops has been put down; the officers directly implicated have committed suicide or are in prison. But the new government, which the situation requires, has yet to be constituted. Not until the composition of that government is known will it be possible to speak with even approximate confidence of the effect which this tragic affair is to have on Japan and on the critical situation in the far east. However, that the pretensions of the military extremists have received a damaging blow seems beyond question. In the light of that fact, it is reasonable to hope that the aggressiveness of the militaristic drive in Mongolia will be curbed, and that the revelation of the split within the army will encourage all the non-militaristic elements inside Japan to renew the campaign for genuine constitutional government. February 26, 1936, may prove to have been for Japan her blackest hour just before a new and glorious dawn.

The Grace of Gratitude

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The other morning I woke up with the lines of a gospel hymn running through my head. "Count your blessings, name them one by one." I had not heard them sung for a long time, but they struck me as entirely sound. The words do not claim to be poetry and the music would not be acclaimed with enthusiasm by the attendants at the Boston symphony concerts. But the sentiment is right. The authors of the book of Proverbs or Ecclesiastes believed in counting their blessings; so did Marcus Aurelius, who made a list of the blessings which had come to him; so also did George Herbert and Emily Dickinson and many others who had the grace of gratitude.

You get up in the morning (by *you* I mean the French *on*); you think of your life and the day that lies before you; you go over the events that are known, and there are surprises which you await with excitement. What splendid men and women you will meet! What fine enemies! What difficulties to overcome and what shouts of triumph when the thing is done! It is a miracle of a day which lies before you, if it is rightly regarded.

Then there are all the little things which enrich your day. That steaming coffee which sets you going upon the tasks of the day with a flying start. The new book which invites you down new paths and offers you fresh delights. There is excitement in the thought that you are among the very first to read that book. After all there was a time when the first readers opened "Paradise Lost," and you may be the first to read a masterpiece. Then there are all the joys of the earth and sky and all the wonderful things which man has made, himself also an instrument of the Lord of the World. Count them one by one!

But I am a little uncomfortable as I chant that line. What *are* blessings? And must I count only what are pleasant and agreeable experiences? Might there not be bitter and even terrible experiences which are in reality blessings? I remember that the blessing of the Old Testament is prosperity, but in the New there is a congratulation offered to those who are in adversity. It seems as if I too must make allowance for disguised blessings, which call at my door incognito.

> Then welcome each rebuff
> That turns earth's smoothness rough.

Count your blessings! But among them we should count the rebuffs, the apparent defeats, the desperate struggles, the losses and failures out of which we can win gains, but without which we should be poorer in the end. You, like Mr. Roosevelt, have not forgotten that great teacher, Josiah Royce, and the way in which he spoke of the "counter-good" which may be put into the world's store by those who accept the challenge of evil or apparent evils. The opportunity of achieving that counter-good is also a blessing.

But on this as on so many things Paul says the last word: "In everything give thanks." So once more, like the character in Browning, "I put up pencil and join chorus," and I shout to Quintus as he splashes in his bath: "Count your blessings, name them one by one."

Ever yours, letting cheerfulness break through,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

March Sun

SET your heart to the suns of March.
Moments like this are always brief.
The winds may freeze, the suns may parch
What you have loved of brittle leaf.

No matter if another season—
Or this one—fools you twice again,
It's not for you or me to reason,
For we're not gods, but humble men.

Take every promise that you hear.
Take the late winter suns, and grow.
Life is a promise year to year—
Fulfilment you need never know.

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

The Churches and the Cooperatives

By James Myers

THE CONSUMERS' cooperative movement offers outlets for practical social action which are peculiarly congenial to religious idealists. It offers a technique of economic reconstruction which is non-violent in method, democratic in ownership and control, and based on the principle of production and distribution to meet maximum human need rather than being primarily designed, like our present economic system, for the profit of private owners of industry. Jesus said, "I came to minister, not to be ministered unto." Human society must build a system which will reflect in economic practice Jesus' motive of service to humanity. Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, whose present tour is so deeply stirring the Christian conscience of America, describes consumers' cooperation as "the love principle of Christianity in economic action."

In my admittedly limited personal observation of this movement in the United States I have been much impressed with the reality of the motive of service to consumers which actuates the management of the already extensive cooperative movement now in operation. The young manager of a cooperative flour mill in Avilla, Indiana, I found as keen about improving efficiency of operation and quality of product, and as excited about developing new processes and expanding outlets for products of the mill, as any manager of a profit-seeking enterprise. This young man did not require the profit motive to draw out the best that was in him. He apparently did not need a million-dollar bonus, like the president of one of our great steel corporations, in order, as Heywood Broun remarked, "to keep up his good old school spirit." I am informed that the able president of the Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative association with its extensive business in farm supplies, gas and oil, and insurance has refused offers from private companies of ten times his present salary. There is evidence that "the best product of cooperation is cooperators."

Let's Be Realistic!

One is deeply impressed also with the universal insistence upon quality in the products made or purchased by cooperatives. This stands out in sharp and refreshing contrast to the ballyhoo and misrepresentation of commercial products which have been so widely exposed in recent years. The manager of a cooperative feed mill told me that he had to train his own junior executives. "Those who come to us from commercial firms," he said, "simply cannot understand why we don't make our products cheaper and worse."

For the very reason that there is so much promise in the cooperative movement toward a more Christian economic system, however, it seems to me that we need to be realistic in our analysis both of the strong points and also of the limitations and possible ethical dangers of the movement.

One of the spiritual pitfalls into which middle-class cooperative enthusiasts are in special danger of falling is an undue emphasis on how much money they can save by cooperative purchasing. Without serious consideration of the labor standards of producers on the farms and in the factories, pressure for cheap goods on the part of the consumers may, unless properly safeguarded, result in what amounts to predatory exploitation of the workers and farmers. The "economy motive" of consumers, even the "patronage dividend motive" of consumer cooperators, unless proper controls and balances are set up may become ethically hard to distinguish from the self-seeking which we condemn when it appears under the guise of the "profit motive."

Conflicts of Interest

Is it not an oversimplification to assert—as do some prominent exponents of cooperation—that the consumers' cooperative movement would automatically eliminate all class conflict because "it includes without any discrimination all members of society under the broadest of classifications, that of consumers"? The problem of the relation of producers' cooperatives and consumers' cooperatives remains to be settled. In that relation lies a conflict of interest which will need to be resolved on an equitable basis.

Even if we were to assume that eventually consumers' cooperatives will own and manage all producing units, there will remain an employer-employe relationship between the cooperatives and those whom they employ as clerks, mill and factory workers, and so forth. In the employer-employe relationship there is bound to be some conflict of interest, so far as I can see, under any conceivable political or economic system. While all employes may be expected to benefit from a cooperative society, the amount of their personal salaries or wages will bulk large to them as the chief factor in their individual economic welfare. There will be a conflict of interest between employes and employers even when the employers are organized consumers.

Now, happily, one of the cardinal principles of the cooperative movement is insistence on high standards of wages and working conditions among their own employes. In Great Britain the testimony of trade union leaders shows that "the cooperative employe is better paid, more humanely treated, has greater security and more continuous employment than any other class of worker engaged in commercial production or distribution." In fact, all employes of cooperatives now belong to labor unions. Membership in national labor unions is the best practicable safeguard to make sure that the employes of cooperatives themselves enjoy a democratic voice in the conditions under which they work.

I was glad to observe that the employes of the gas station service of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative association are members of the A. F. of L. union for that particular industry, and in addition receive a

bonus each month on sales. But such recognition of the status of the employes of cooperatives does not occur automatically. I interviewed one manager of a large cooperative in one of our eastern states whose reaction to unions sounded precisely like that of the average capitalistic employer. Especially in America, where the strength of the cooperative movement lies in farmers' groups and may develop rapidly among the middle class, there is need of constant vigilance at this point.

Even in the present cooperative purchasing of supplies from privately owned concerns a serious question is involved with reference to conditions under which the supplies are made. It is gratifying to note that the cooperative mail order house, Cooperative Distributors, has a policy of recommending only articles which have been made under relatively fair labor conditions.

A word of warning needs to be spoken also to our American trade unions. Because of the stated policy of cooperatives on labor, unions may be tempted to pick on them as "easy meat" for organization without at the same time organizing the employes of their private competitors. The demand for union wages and hours under such conditions may throw an unfair burden on cooperatives and make it difficult for them to get started. Thus, at the recent Federal council seminar on consumers' cooperation an excellent example was cited of a cooperative bakery which, when approached by the Teamsters' union, willingly promised to be the first to recognize the union without the necessity of a strike if the union would organize their private competitors. This story had a happy ending; the drivers of all the bakeries in the town concerned are now organized. But it might have turned out otherwise, and if it had the cooperative would have been the sufferer.

Need for Political Support

It is perhaps not necessary to point out that in addition to the organization of all types of cooperatives, and the building of a comprehensive labor union movement, there will be continued need for political action by a farmer-labor party. Unless our political life becomes permeated and controlled both in philosophy and administration by political forces with social vision, those cooperators who feel that the cooperative movement is all that is needed may wake up some fine morning to find that the cooperative movement has also been declared unconstitutional! It is significant that in countries where the cooperative movement is most extensive and successful, as illustrated in Great Britain, Denmark, Finland, Belgium and Sweden, it has had the sympathy and support of a farmer, labor, socialist or social-democrat party, and has been supplemented by other measures of socialization or public ownership through the influence of such parties.

When the question is asked, as it frequently is these days, what relation the church should bear to this movement, it is natural to reply that the first responsibility of the church lies in the field of the education, inspiration and motivation of its own members. Immediate programs should be undertaken to this end. Cooperative speakers should be invited to speak in our churches. Sightseeing seminars to functioning cooperatives, similar to the Indianapolis seminar of the Federal council of churches, should be set up regionally and locally by church groups. Prayer-study-action groups should be organized widely in our churches, seeking facts and guidance as a basis for launching local programs of action.

There are grounds for real hope that we are about to witness in this country a new and vital fusion of personal and social religion such as Kagawa himself typifies, which will impart new reality to the religious life of our churches. At the same time, through the awakened interest of church people, an added impetus is being given to the actual growth of cooperatives and, it is to be hoped, to those other forms of political and economic action which look toward a righteous society.

A Witness of Jehovah

By Marie Miller

NUMBER 16 was the neatest house on the street. Its clean bright yellow shone among the dirty drab greys and browns. The Witness of Jehovah answered the bell. Her broad, Slavic face, framed by smooth light brown hair, showed friendliness and strength. She ushered me into the front room of the simple home. Like its mistress, it breathed cleanliness, order and poverty.

I had come to call regarding her children's refusal to salute the flag at school. There was ample precedent to indicate that if the case were to come up in court it would be decided against the recalcitrants. This woman stood to lose her mother's pension. The children were likely to be dismissed from school for insubordination and, if they did not return penitent, the mother might face a jail sentence for their non-attendance. I explained the situation to her.

"If we must suffer for our obedience to the Word of God as we understand it, so be it. I would rather have my children die than have them lose their souls. I was born and raised a Catholic. My parents were Polish. Not until I joined the Witnesses of Jehovah had I realized what the Word of God might mean in my everyday life. Now I have seen the light and I know that this wicked world will soon be called to judgment. If people would but read the Bible and follow God's Word to the least instruction there would be no wickedness."

The Faith of a Convert

She reached for one of the two Bibles which lay on the table, flanked by several leaflets of the cult. She opened at chapter 20 of the book of Exodus and pointed to a well-marked passage: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." Haltingly she read the ancient words. Then she produced a Webster's dictionary from a drawer: "To salute means 'to

honor, to bow to.' We love our country but we love all mankind and above all God. The flag is an image and my children are obeying God's command in refusing to salute a man-made image. I do not force my convictions upon my children. I only teach them the Word of God. They are free to decide for themselves. Why can't everyone leave us alone? We are not trying to force our truth on anyone. We just want to live according to the Word of God as we understand it. Is it Christian to persecute us for it?"

There was something noble about this woman and her simple faith. The spirit of the primitive Christians and of the evangelical Protestants of Bohemia who were exiled and persecuted for their faith seemed to have been revived in her. She was superbly herself with the sturdy simplicity of her peasant ancestry. There was here no sensationalism or ulterior motive.

"There are about a hundred of us at the meetings," she went on. "We read the Bible together and try to understand the will of God. Then we visit other people in the community and try to explain to them the beauty and greatness of the Bible."

Three beautiful, intelligent children wandered into the room one after the other. The eldest, aged thirteen, spoke with normal enthusiasm of "gym" and basketball.

I thought of the indignant school authorities, the expressed regrets that this mother was American-born and could not be deported. Lamely I argued that the children were too young to be induced to fight for causes, that if they learned a good deal and formed their own opinions they would be better fitted to make this world a more Christian one. It was unbearable to think of these innocents persecuted.

"No, lady, I am not asking them to fight for anything, or to advocate anything. All I am teaching them is to follow the Word of God. As the twig is bent so the tree inclines. If they don't learn now to stand for what they believe, no matter what happens, how will they stand out against the wickedness of the world when they grow up? God will take care of us. If they want to take the bread and education from my children, we are ready to bear it. But whatever happens, we will not falter."

Somehow I felt deeply grateful that my arguments for opportunism had fallen on so deaf an ear. Grateful, and ashamed of myself and the society for which I was playing intermediary. Such literal interpretation of the Bible might be misguided. But whatever one's point of view as to that, it renews one's faith in the possibilities of men to see an ideal so tenaciously upheld, so overwhelmingly ruling a human life. Have we reached the place where there is no longer room for that in the American tradition?

'Not as the Pharisee'

By Taylor Merrill

The primary purpose of this nation is to avoid being drawn into war. It seeks also in every practicable way to promote peace and to discourage war. . . . Our soldier and sailor dead call to us across the years to make our lives effective in building constructively for peace.—*President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his Armistice day address at Arlington national cemetery, November 11, 1935.*

We can be grateful that selfish purpose of personal gain, at our neighbor's loss, less strongly asserts itself. . . . We can be grateful that our peace with other nations continues through recognition of our own peaceful purpose. But in appreciation of the blessings that Divine Providence has bestowed upon us in America, we shall not rejoice as the Pharisee rejoiced. . . . Rather, must America by example and in practice help to bind the wounds of others, strive against disorder and aggression, encourage the lessening of distrust among peoples and advance peaceful trade and friendship.—*President Roosevelt, in his Thanksgiving day proclamation, November 12, 1935.*

EVEN as the chief executive uttered these commendable statements of national purpose and policy the United States was in the midst of a feverish rearmament program unparalleled in the peacetime history of the nation. We were leading all the nations of the world in expenditures for war preparedness. Developments during ensuing months have accelerated and augmented that program. The London naval conference has foundered on the rocks of the parity dogma. Committed by our navalists to building up the American navy to "treaty strength" by 1942, we find ourselves without any treaty to build up to. But bludgeoned by the shibboleth of "a navy second to none," regardless of relative geographic and strategic factors, we will go on at a faster pace in a hectic naval race in which the idea of mutual limitations is thrown overboard.

The chairman of the senate foreign relations committee from his influential official vantage point joins the Hearst press in provocative jingo harangues. The cry is heard in Washington that for every naval keel Japan lays down we will be prepared to lay down three. "The doctrine of the American navy department, 'Three new American ships for each ship built by Japan,' is now fully indorsed by the President and the congress," writes Constantine Brown, author of "The Diplomatic Game," in a copyrighted article in the Washington Star.

Also for land as well as sea armaments we press on with war appropriations of unprecedented size.

And notwithstanding the President's assertion of a diminution of "that selfish purpose of personal gain, at our neighbor's loss," the export figures mount on American oil shipped abroad to be used by Italian aviators in their mission of "civilizing" Ethiopia by dropping bombs on defenseless villages and Red Cross hospitals. Ignoring the tragic consequences of our continuing war trade and discounting the inevitable reper-

cussions of our policy of plunging ahead with an increasingly provocative super-preparedness program, the utterances of our policy-makers continue on a note of moral superiority. We stand in the international temple thanking the Lord that we are not as other nations. If there is not in all this, as the President says there should not be, the "rejoicing of the Pharisee," is there not at least some suggestion of smug unctuousness?

$181 From Every Family!

The coming year's bill for American wars, past and future, real and imaginary, hypothetical and projected, in a nation that by solemn international treaty engagement has bound itself never again to resort to war as "an instrument of national policy" will be more than four and a half billion dollars—or to be more exact, $4,684,000,000, according to a tabulation compiled from official sources by Representative Fred Biermann of Iowa. At a time when more than ten million unemployed are wondering where their bread is going to come from, such a bill for battalions and battleships and soldiers' bonuses if laid directly on the tax accounts of the American people would mean an average outlay of $181 from every American family of five. In a breakdown of the $4,684,000,000 American war bill for the coming fiscal year, as submitted to the house in debate by Congressman Biermann, the year's outlay to pay for past wars will be $3,590,000,000. That total includes $753,000,000 for the veterans' administration, $2,237,000,000 for the soldiers' bonus, and a $600,000,000 interest charge on war debt. The coming year's record-breaking billion-dollar bill for future wars includes a prospective navy department appropriation of about $550,000,000—though budget estimates of possible navy expenditures for the fiscal year, including a sizable grant from "emergency" funds, run to $609,097,400 as compared with $563,641,100 as the navy expenditures for the expiring fiscal year.

Our Staggering War Bill

For the war department, the appropriations bill as it passed the house totaled $545,226,318—or about one hundred twenty millions more than the last year's war department appropriation which up to now had set a new peacetime record for army expenditures. Part of the new half-billion dollar war department appropriation will go for rivers and harbors projects, but army funds available for strictly military purposes are expected to total nearly four hundred millions for the coming fiscal year. Our billion dollar preparedness bill for this single coming year is a third again as much as the average annual federal expenditures for all purposes, military and civil, that the Lincoln administration required to run the government and prosecute from 1861 to 1865 the longest and severest war in which the nation ever engaged. For the four fiscal years of President Roosevelt's administration actual and prospective expenditures for the navy and for the purely military activities of the war department will, according to budget figures, reach the staggering total of $3,139,227,500.

This, it might be noted, is $443,304,400 more than congress specifically appropriated for war preparedness purposes. These extra millions have been "diverted" to army and navy uses from emergency funds appropriated for "relief" and "recovery." These huge military grants out of relief funds are more blandly taken as a matter of course than uses to which some far smaller driblets from emergency funds have been applied. Discovery, for example, that WPA had authorized a grant of a few thousand dollars to finance a white collar research project, helping dig out facts for the Nye munitions committee investigation, recently produced an uproar in the senate. Senator Robinson of Arkansas felt constrained to voice his "humiliation and disgrace" that the committee had put the senate "in the attitude of going on relief"!

"In the name of conscience," exclaimed the senator, "has this country and has the senate come to a condition when committees representing the senate will disgrace it in such a manner?" But from those thus endeavoring to discredit and hamper the work of the Nye committee—in the name of conscience, or in whatever other name—no voluble outcry is heard about the army and navy having "gone on relief" to the tune of nearly a half billion dollars.

The Voice of the Generals

Who prescribes a billion dollars a year as the necessary price of preparedness? Who sets this sky-high limit for the cost of "adequate protection"? Representative Robert F. Rich of Pennsylvania, a persistent stickler for government economy, propounded the inquiry in debate on the latest army appropriation bill. Representative Thomas L. Blanton of Texas, who prides himself on being a "watch-dog of the treasury," but who is ready to go the limit for war outlays, offered the suggestion, as a member of the appropriation subcommittee on war department, that the committee mainly "make up our minds after hearing from our general staff and the many splendid major generals in our army."

Just so. And in no peacetime administration in our history do the generals and the admirals seem to have had an easier task of making up the minds of the civil branches of government.

Yet it is only a few months since Admiral W. H. Standley, chief of naval operations, was engaged in stirring up military-minded patriotic organizations, urging upon them the necessity of rallying to "neutralize" and "overcome" sentiment for arms reduction manifested by such groups as "churches of nearly every denomination," the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., which he held to be susceptible to misleading "communistic" and "subversive" counsels. Admiral Standley complained that officers of the Federal council of churches and like-minded organizations attended "all hearings" on "measures which carried appropriations for our armed forces" and constituted a "menace to our national security," which the professional patriotic groups must aggressively rouse themselves to "checkmate."

So far as the bulky records of hearings on war ap-

propriations before the present congress are concerned, it must appear that the admiral was jabbing at a straw man. The testimony before the committees runs on through hundreds of pages of uncontested demands for an ever increasing super-preparedness establishment by the generals, admirals, colonels and captains and the representatives of military orders, with no recorded suggestion of countervailing views from civilian groups. And the pliancy of the committees and of the general body of congress in being guided by the fears and phobias of the professional military clique seems to indicate complete negligibility of any dissenting civilian sentiment in moderating this most costly and provocative super-preparedness program.

Preparedness for What?

In congress, it is true, some questioning minority voices are raised. Representative Theodore Christianson of Minnesota wanted to know whence we were threatened by invasion and against whom we were arming to the teeth. Representative John F. Dockweiler of California offered the nebulous reply that this was an illogical question, that it was futile to ask from what quarter we are threatened, for "why any war is going to come . . . is just a question of emotion." Representative Charles I. Faddis of Pennsylvania who, holding a colonel's commission in the officers' reserve corps, was in position to express a professional military opinion, declared that putting the nation merely in a posture of defense against invaders is not adequate preparedness. Rather should we be prepared to invade foreign enemy territory, he maintained.

"A very dangerous opinion regarding national defense is growing up in this country," he said. "Many have the idea that our armed forces should never leave our shores or waters to fight. . . . No plan of national defense could be more dangerous. . . . Wars have always been won in the territory of the enemy and can be won in no other manner. . . . If we must fight, let us have the destruction in the land of the enemy, not in our land." With a further touch of military realism as to probable causes of conflicts which should cause us to send troops abroad, he said the vast majority of wars have been and will be fought "for commercial reasons."

The Juggernaut Crashes On

"It may be all very well," this congressman declared, "to shout 'dollar diplomacy,' 'protection of vested interests,' or 'the rich man's war, but the poor man's fight,' but the fact remains that commerce is the commerce of the nation." Without commerce we would "retrograde" and we must be prepared to send expeditionary forces into enemy countries to defend it. Because "human nature is the most unchangeable factor since Genesis" and "this nation was founded, maintained and preserved by the force of arms," many of those who base their peace hopes "upon the power of treaty or mandate or the efficacy of prayer" are in darkness beyond reach of the "pitiless light of practicability."

Through a smoke screen of suggestion that moderationists and dissenters from the ultra-preparedness program are unpatriotic and in league with "subversive" forces the juggernaut crashes on. The half-billion-dollar army bill plunged through the house without the moderationists even being able to get a roll-call vote on final passage. Constituents who doubt the need and question the results of such huge peacetime outlays for war will not have opportunity to check up on how their congressmen voted. And, by all indications, the half-billion-dollar navy bill will crash through congress over an equally feeble opposition.

So far as congress is concerned, no strictly partisan indictment of the new deal or of the majority party can be drawn for peace policy shortcomings when it is noted how members of both parties in congress, in considering the big armament bills, have displayed an equal alacrity and agility in jumping at the whip-cracking of the admirals and generals. But realistically speaking, the formulation of our foreign policy and of measures fraught with grave international implications is not primarily a legislative function. This is an administration in which executive leadership has been assertive and successfully dominant in all other spheres of policy and action. Had a proportionate amount of the executive leadership and pressure applied to legislative consideration of domestic questions been exerted in the vital matter of "building constructively for peace," to use the President's Armistice day phrase, should we be witnessing the present debacle in peace policy—*vide* the fate of permanent neutrality legislation—and the lack of formulation of any coherent, constructive or consistent foreign relations program?

Defending the Administration

It may be pointed out in reply that the President has just made a dramatic overture to the heads of Latin-American republics for a conference to take counsel on the peace of the Americas. But since the ending of the Gran Chaco war, peace reigns in this hemisphere, nor is there any threat of war between American republics to explain this sudden new initiative in dealing with non-existent dangers. Some observers contend the new move is actuated not so much by contemplation of any pressing international exigencies in this hemisphere as by domestic political considerations. The political need is evident, they say, to toss a sop to dissatisfied peace-minded critics in this country. As one Washington commentator maintains:

> They have become disturbed and restless over the annually mounting appropriations for national defense approved by President Roosevelt. Something must be done to take their minds off the billion dollars now being appropriated for the army and navy. As the last three years are reviewed, the new deal has little to its credit in the field of foreign relations—little that it can boast about in the forthcoming campaign.

Can any such scene-shifting strategy effectively divert attention from the costly and provocative armament program and from the muddle of a foreign policy that has become inchoate and leaderless—leaderless, that is, except in so far as we lead all the nations of the world in the expenditures being piled up on the people's backs for war preparedness?

Conscience or College Degree?

By Alfred Schmalz

THERE are one hundred eighteen civil educational institutions where military training is compulsory. Massachusetts Institute of Technology is one of them. Of every physically able male student the institute requires two years of military science. In recent years these schools and colleges have been bothered—some of them considerably annoyed—by a growing opposition to the compulsory feature of military training. One after another has found itself in the limelight of public interest. Questions have been asked. Exemption has been requested. Protests have been made. Into this focus of public attention M.I.T. now comes.

The subject of this renewed opposition to compulsory military training is a student named Kenneth Arnold, now in his senior year at the institute. Arnold entered M.I.T. in 1932, and as a freshman enrolled in the military band. In his sophomore year he enrolled in the regular military course, and would, by the end of the year, have fulfilled all the R.O.T.C. requirements. But early in the year a conviction began to form in his mind. More and more he began to feel a tension in conscience. War seemed to him to be utterly unchristian. Was not preparation for war similarly unchristian? To this conviction he found himself rapidly coming. By Christmas of his second year he had reached the place where he could not conscientiously go on with R.O.T.C. drill. He conferred with friends in the student body and on the faculty. When the last shadow of doubt was gone, he requested an interview with the president of the institute, Dr. Karl T. Compton.

Dealing Gently with Student Scruples

Now, not all schools and colleges deal gently with the conscientious objector. In some institutions the request for exemption from military training is met with expulsion—a procedure from which, incidentally, there is no legal recourse. In other places the student who has the temerity to ask to be excused runs the gauntlet of severe inquisition before army officers serving on a specially organized committee; the chances are that he will break down under the questioning. But at M.I.T. a conscientious objector, under the present administration, finds gentlemanly treatment and careful consideration. What finally happens to him as a consequence of his conscientious stand is another matter. We shall come to that. The point is that he is not dealt with like a criminal. Dr. Compton's way of dealing with what is obviously an embarrassing problem is revealed in a letter written some time later to the pastors of two Congregational churches with which Arnold is connected. "I hope," he wrote, "that you will both realize that there is no lack of sympathy with the boy or his ideals. In fact, I admire him for them."

But with or without sympathy the penalty falls. In 1929 the executive committee of the corporation passed a resolution which grants certain discretionary power to the president of the institute, and which effectively ties his hands. This committee has ruled that the president must either expel the conscientious objector or else may excuse him from the military science requirements with the understanding that he forfeits his right to a degree.

Dr. Compton recognized the sincerity of Arnold's position, and felt there was valid reason for exercising the discretion given him. He gave the exemption requested, and Arnold's status was at once changed to that of "special student not a candidate for a degree." Thus at M.I.T. do the iron wheels of militarism grind out their destiny. At the institute if a student becomes a conscientious objector to military training, he automatically becomes unfit to receive a degree.

How the Arnold Case Developed

Kenneth Arnold has not lacked sympathizers outside the institute. He has not, however, sought them. Some few people knew about his having sacrificed a degree, but of them Arnold asked nothing. To him it was a personal problem, and nothing more. This was true until the summer of 1934, when his second year of study was completed. That summer his concern for peace led him to attend the Wellesley institute on international relations. Here quite by chance he met the chairman of the social action committee of the Rhode Island Congregational conference. This conference had only that spring passed a resolution condemning compulsory military training and offering to support the conscientious objector. When Arnold learned this, he let it be known that he was willing to have the churches give him what support was possible.

At Oberlin, Ohio, in 1934 the general council of Congregational and Christian churches passed a similar resolution. When Arnold's case was brought before the New England social action committee, which is composed of representatives of all conferences in that area, it was plain that there was ample basis in Christian conviction for the fullest possible support of this conscientious objector. Arnold is a Congregationalist, member of a Rhode Island church. Who other than these New England Congregationalists should work for his full exemption from the military training requirements? From October 1934 down to the present an active but quiet campaign has been in progress.

The Institute's Position

The sober tale to tell, however, is that Kenneth Arnold will receive no degree. That is, unless the executive committee of M.I.T. can before June be prevailed upon to revise its policy. On January 9 President Compton informed this group of churchmen that the institute in its final judgment saw no reason to change its present ruling.

M.I.T. takes military training seriously, and in doses

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which have profoundly affected the psychology and attitudes of students, faculty and trustees alike. The whole institute is almost solidly behind the R.O.T.C. In an article in the Tech Engineering News, President Compton has defended military training on two grounds, its value as a discipline and as a wise national service. Not convinced of its value when he first became president of the institute, Dr. Compton has since lost all his doubts. Military training in schools and colleges—and on a compulsory basis—is the only reasonable alternative, he now believes, to a large standing army. It has other benefits too. It helps engineers to "take orders and to execute assignments with precision." It gives "carriage and poise." It is a means of overcoming "shyness and lack of confidence." And finally, "the actual information and understanding of military tactics and procedure is of cultural value in the broad sense of its giving an understanding of an important activity of society as society is now constituted."

To M.I.T. military training is the subject supreme. It stands in a class by itself, the most important item in the engineer's education. Nothing else is quite so essential. Writing in the Tech Engineering News, Mr. Vannevar Bush, vice-president of M.I.T., said, with reference to the varied curricula opportunities which the institute offers for students of special interests: "There is a provision whereby those who have special interests may find even greater freedom and pursue courses of study which may for one reason or other be of peculiar interest or attraction. This can come about in two ways. Heads of departments may make substitutions, and are glad to do so in the case of any student who has good records and a clear-cut objective, so that he may include in his course subjects not in the regular program, but for which he has a particular bent, omitting other parts which are of lesser interest to him." Arnold is an honor student. He can substitute courses in other fields. But military science? Never! No one, despite his "special interests," is permitted to substitute another course for R.O.T.C.—that is, if he wants a degree.

All this the institute thoroughly and conscientiously believes. And it doesn't want students who think otherwise. President Compton frankly wrote the churchmen pleading for Arnold that anyone "who feels that he cannot accept this point of view is at liberty to secure his education in any one of many other excellent educational institutions."

A Cause to be Maintained

These churchmen could, of course, accept their defeat stoically. They could defer to the judgment of the executive committee, and let the matter rest. They do not, however, believe that this would be the course of wisdom or of Christian conviction. The restriction upon freedom of conscience which compulsory military training entails, they believe to be unwarranted and mischievous. Therefore, they announce, they will continue to plead their case before the trustees of the institute.

Kenneth Arnold is not the only student about whom the Congregational churches need to be concerned. In another prominent New England university a Congregationalist student probably will also be required to forfeit his right to a degree, for conscience sake. But the churches should not be surprised that more and more they are being drawn into the arena of conflict over military training in schools and colleges. Here is one of the places where the problem of church and state has to be fought out in our generation. If the churches honestly and realistically carry forward a program of peace education, they must expect that out of the ranks of their young people will rise more and more conscientious objectors. These young students will turn to the churches for the support their cause merits. And the churches will be judged by the support they give.

BOOKS

A Newspaper Knight

FIRE OF LIFE. *By Henry W. Nevinson. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.75.*

THE three volumes of which this one is an abbreviation evoked from the most eminent critics such superlative praise as almost to provoke a stubborn determination to prove them wrong. But having read the book, with a crescendo of interest mounting toward glowing reverence for the man and the writer, I am in no mood to take issue with these disarmed and laudatory critics. If Mr. John Masefield wishes to say—as he does in the preface—that "no better autobiography has been written in English in the last hundred years," the statement will not be challenged here.

Nevinson is an English journalist, now in his mid-seventies. He would probably protest, as any healthy minded newspaper man would, against being described as a knight, but it is inevitable. Throughout his long career there has been a quality of gallantry and adventure not to be otherwise described, always in the service of some unpopular cause that needed a defender and always with the generous self-effacement of a good journeyman newspaper man. The habitual anonymity of the editorial writer had doubtless accustomed him to hiding his personality behind a paper, if not his light under a bushel.

In early life, Nevinson saw Carlyle, talked with Ruskin, lived at Toynbee hall, wrote stories of East London, rambled through industrial districts making friends with miners, ironworkers and political radicals, came to be on good terms with the "anarchist" Prince Kropotkin. Later, he was literary editor of the London Daily Chronicle (with Bernard Shaw as a member of his reviewing staff), and editorial writer for the (London) Nation and the Daily News. Between and after these engagements he was a war correspondent in Greece, South Africa, Morocco, France and Gallipoli. He was foreign correspondent at times of special crisis in Russia (1905), India, Spain, the Near East, Ireland. He was mobbed as a pro-Boer after his return from South Africa. He was a friend of Sir Roger Casement and the Irish patriots. He stood up for Mrs.

Pankhurst in the darkest days of the votes-for-women campaign. Most notable of all, perhaps, was his independent investigation (in 1905) of slavery in Portuguese East Africa and in the islands of the Gulf of Guinea where the British proprietors of great cocoa plantations were growing rich on slave labor until 1914. He took an active and unpopular part in the agitation that led tardily to the abolition of that iniquity. If this isn't knight errantry, with a reporter's weapons, what is it?

Two or three quotations will show both his literary style and his manner of thought. Nevinson was favorably impressed by the missionaries in Africa. "Amid traders and planters whose very existence depended upon violence, deceit and slavery, here were white men who kept their word, dealt honestly, and put the native's gain before their own. From end to end of Africa a white man's honesty is rarer than diamonds or gold; but missionaries maintain the tradition of its existence." And he liked the Quakers, though he found them provokingly slow in action and some of them were the chief beneficiaries of the slavery that he loathed. Of one whom he met in Africa he wrote: "He was merely imbued with that admirable Quaker quality which has so often maddened my impatient and unregenerate soul. It is a capacity to obey the precept, 'Resist not evil, but overcome evil with good.' It is the character which, upon encountering evil, instead of violently striking at it as we heathens are inclined to do, surveys it calmly, engages in silent prayer, and walks around to discover some way of taking it in the rear by persuasion or appeal to a sense of virtue always latent in the heart of evil men. To indignation the process is irritating in its quietude, its deliberation, and perhaps in its success. But I must acknowledge that the success is almost invariable."

Nevinson visited America late in life and viewed it with mingled amazement, amusement and admiration, and with more than common understanding. There is more than a humorous paradox in this remark: "Americans enjoy noise, for though they are leisurely and unbusinesslike people, they think noise is evidence of bustle and vitality."

And finally, in contrast with another journalistic autobiography soon to be reviewed in these pages, I quote this sentence from the reminiscent summary in the last chapter: "I was happy in having been born to a grave and rigid manner of thought and behavior." Here was a life of amazing richness and activity, full of joyous adventure on social frontiers as well as on fields of battle, in the whirlpools of revolution and in the jungles of Africa, and after seventy years of such freedom of action as few men attain, he confesses the happiness that he has found in "a grave and rigid manner of thought and behavior." There you have in practice, and without any verbose discussion of theory, the synthesis of discipline and liberty.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

IDEAS IN MOTION. *By Dixon Ryan Fox. D. Appleton-Century Company, $1.25.*

The first of the four historical essays included in this volume is a further development of the theme stated and illustrated in the recent "Sources of Culture in the Middle West," edited by Dr. Fox. Turner's famous thesis regarding the influence of the frontier here receives not exactly a rebuttal but a needed complement. The frontier has always received its ideas from the older seats of culture. Here the author studies various aspects of the movement by which ideas have traveled from place to place and from age to age. The essays are both brilliantly conceived and brilliantly written.

THE BEST POEMS OF 1935. *Selected by Thomas Moult. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.00.*

Since 1922 Mr. Moult has annually edited a volume of what he considers the best magazine poetry of the year. His selections have come to be generally accepted as coming about as close to what the title calls them as any one man's selections can be. Mr. Moult does not lean heavily toward either the old forms or the new formlessness in poetry. One may say that perhaps his selections of the best verse of the year give more recognition to solid achievement and less to interesting experimentation than do Mr. O'Brien's annual selections of the best short stories.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Logical Step

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have read with much interest Evelyn A. Cummins' article, "An Obstacle Race to Rome," which appeared in your issue of February 5. My attention was especially attracted by the quotation of Article III of the Credenda of the Confraternity of Unity, particularly to the following sentence: "And I believe in everything else that has been defined and declared by the sacred canons and by the general councils, and particularly by the holy council of Trent, and delivered, defined, and declared by the general councils of the Vatican, especially concerning the primacy of the Roman pontiff, and his infallible teaching authority."

Someone should say at once that the inevitable corollary of the doctrine of papal infallibility is the view that the Roman Catholic church is the only authentic exponent of divine revelation and the only divinely established home for humanity. Any intelligent and moral being who believes in the one will also believe in the other, and act accordingly. Enough said.

Church Divinity School, Berkeley, Calif. JAMES M. MALLOCH.

Black Turns Red

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The National Negro congress recently held in Chicago obviously derived its inspiration from Moscow and not from Washington. At the opening of the session the communistic influence was so dominant and obtrusive that the police department had to require that its proceedings be kept within the limits of the law. The three voices that sounded loudest and carried farthest were those of James W. Ford, Negro vice-presidential nominee on the communist ticket, Angelo Herndon, the outspoken communist who was so ruthlessly handled by the authorities in Georgia, and Langston Hughes, whose "Good-bye Christ" casts the Christian religion to the winds. All three of these are radicals, reds and communists of the first water. Religion, patriotism and philanthropy, the three pillars upon which the race's hope has been built, were ruthlessly cast aside in quest of some new political and economic gospel.

As a mass movement, expressive of the unrest and dissatisfaction which agitate the black masses, the congress was a conspicuous success unequaled since the Garvey movement in the heyday of its pretentions. The bulk of the delegates, numbering over a thousand in all, came from the overcrowded centers—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis and Detroit—where an alarming proportion of the Negro population is on public relief. The general intellectual level of these centers has produced an intelligentsia whose cleverness and mental pertness far outrun their ability to make a living.

It was noticeable that the existing outstanding national organizations among Negroes were sidetracked, subordinated or ignored. The N.A.A.C.P., the Urban league, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the National Business league, the National federation of women's clubs, the Elks, Masons, Pythians and Odd Fellows followed the congress as the Apostle Peter followed the Savior at the time of his trial—afar off. The N.A.A.C.P. sent the editor of the Crisis as "an official observer." The leaders of Negro thought and opin-

ion, upon whose combined wisdom the race has thus far leaned for guidance, were neither consulted nor considered. Dr. R. R. Moton, Dr. F. D. Patterson, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, James Weldon Johnson, George E. Haynes, Mordecai W. Johnson, Eugene Kinckle Jones, Walter White, William Pickens, R. R. Wright and Emmett J. Scott were conspicuous by their absence and eloquent by their silence.

There was nothing new in the findings of the congress except its communistic pronouncement. The usual bill of complaint, covering the catalogue of race grievances, was recited. Remedies and nostrums were proposed. The race was told what to do, but not how to do it. The one significant plank in the platform was the communistic advice that the race should form a solid front with labor against capital in the titanic struggle which is upsetting the nation and, indeed, the civilized world. What effect this bold pronouncement is to have must wait upon the development of time. But this vehçment expression of dissatisfaction and unrest will cause the thoughtful American people to sit up and take notice.

Howard University, KELLY MILLER.
Washington, D. C.

Should Negroes Leave the Methodist Church?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: This question before the Methodists is not so much a matter of reunion as of conscience. The plan for reunion is not built in respect to matters of organization but in respect to a single question of race. What will be the status of the Negro in the newly organized church? How to deal with this disturbing issue without doing serious violence to conscience is the subterranean thought beneath so much debating and planning.

And while the Methodists are squirming with their consciences the Negro quietly stands by, happy in the thought that he is God's beloved as much as any, and that without regard to the amount of debating or the decisions to which the Methodists come as to his position in the reunited church, it will in no way affect his place in "the kingdom," but that it may affect theirs. That is what I am afraid of. However much the Methodists seek to argue away conscience, the fact remains clear to the world outside which is looking on with interest that any such disposition is unchristian and ill becomes any organization bearing the Christian name. What is Stanley Jones' India to think, particularly as relates to India's coming into the church, if the Methodist church, which calls itself Christian, is to make such differences among its communicants, isolating them in this manner because they are black? How is India to know but that the same discrimination will be meted out to her peoples because they are brown?

Since it seems likely that the plan for reunion will be adopted, the problem is squarely before the Negro himself. If the question is to be settled in such a way as to relieve the Methodist conscience, he must settle it. Curtly, I am suggesting to the Negroes still in the white church that they get out.

It is pathetic to see that the Negro is merely "standing by" awaiting the inevitable outcome; waiting for something to be done with him. How utterly lacking he is in initiative and backbone! How deplorably dependent! How inexcusably weak! I am glad, however, that this is only partially true. Some are not "standing by." The majority of Methodist Negroes are not, and have not been since 1816. It is only the few remaining in the white church who are doing so. They don't seem to sense that they are in the way, or else they want to be in the way. If I were in another man's home and knew that I was causing trouble in that home, I think that I would have self-respect enough and "gump" enough to move myself out. I would not have to be hinted at, or asked outright to leave. I would go, even if I had to go empty handed, like Richard Allen.

What the Negro should do when he goes out is a subject for another study. Here it is enough to say that, if it is good for the Methodists to reunite, it is good for the Negro, who is the only impediment in the way of that reunion, to get out so they can. Not having him, the Methodists won't have to deal with him, and so their consciences will be easy. I can see no other way of saving the Christian integrity of the Methodist church, or of saving the Methodist conscience.

African M. E. Church, OLIVER G. BUTLER.
Omaha, Neb.

Notes on Correspondence

Sherwood Eddy is organizing his annual summer seminar for travel and study in Europe. Most of the danger-spots of Europe will be visited, and the party will be composed of those capable of exercising community influence on return. Further information from 347 Madison avenue, New York city.

C. F. Gates, of Princeton, N. J., believes that the time is favorable for a campaign to lessen the use of profanity in everyday speech. Dr. Gates, emeritus president of Robert college, Constantinople, is of the opinion that most Americans have not stopped to consider the rapid growth of this habit.

The committee on cultural relations with Latin America, of which Hubert Herring is director, is making up its summer seminar for study in Mexico. Sessions will be held in Mexico city and Cuernavaca from July 9 to 29. Information from 289 Fourth avenue, New York city.

The woodworking plant of the Gould farm, non-profit convalescent home and social service farm, is again ready to supply toy building blocks made according to patterns of the leading recreational experts. The Gould farm is at Great Barrington, Mass. Among its directors are Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Mrs. Robert E. Speer and Dr. Sydney B. Snow.

The Presbyterian fellowship for social action, through its secretary, Rev. G. Hubert Frye, King Ferry, N. Y., wishes to associate itself with the sentiments expressed by the Rev. John A. McAfee in his article, "Only the Hysterical," in The Christian Century for February 26.

The Question Box

What is the explanation of the omission of all reference to the raising of Lazarus from the narratives of the Synoptic Gospels, when so much is made of the event in the Gospel of John, and especially when the latter reports the impression made on the Jews by the incident? R. B. S., Cambridge, Mass.

IT is apparent, even upon a casual reading of the gospel records, that no one of them undertakes to give a complete account of the events in Jesus' ministry. In the case of the Synoptic records this is in part explained by the general dependence of the first and third Gospels upon Mark, as the earliest. Even in that regard, however, each recounts numerous incidents which the others omit. Some of these inclusions were doubtless due to the purpose of the writer, and some to the presence of sources, oral or written, unknown to the others. In the case of the Fourth Gospel there is a totally different purpose, a later period of time, and a tendency to employ those occurrences, actual or traditional, which lent themselves to the reflective, interpretative and homiletic character of the work. We do not know what decision or impulse led to the inclusion of one occurrence and the omission of another. We only know that there must have been an immense store of information which could not be used in the short and urgent accounts which the Gospels show themselves to be.

The traditional attribution of the Fourth Gospel to the apostle John found an easy explanation of the matter referred to, in the personal interest of Jesus in the family at Bethany, and the impression made on the apostle as a result. This is too simple a solution, however, and does not explain other cases, as for example the omission of any reference in that Gospel to the agony in the garden, to which one would suppose the apostle would have been peculiarly sensitive. The probable explanation is to be found in the striking character of the story of Lazarus and the opportunity to weave a considerable amount of comment and teaching into the texture of the narrative. In the final issue one can only repeat that we do not know what the motive may have been for the choices which the evangelists made among the materials which lay at hand. H. L. W.

XUM

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

South Rejoices As TVA Wins

Other Cities Renew Efforts to Obtain Cheap Power—Adventists Open Negro Sanitarium

(Correspondence from the New South)

NASHVILLE, Feb. 27.—The pronouncement of the supreme court on the TVA naturally brought jubilation to dwellers in the Tennessee river basin. Towns and rural communities in numbers immediately resumed agitation and negotiation for power and lighting projects. Memphis moved for the building of a transmission line from Pickwick dam, Chattanooga ordered the sale of eight million in bonds for the purchase of a municipal system, Knoxville urged resumption of pressure toward realizing on their plans for municipal ownership. The dams at Chattanooga and Guntersville, Ala., are under way. Tupelo, Miss., the first town to take TVA power, has further reduced rates by 10 per cent—a total reduction over old rates now of 62 per cent. They report an increase in residential use of 270 per cent and an average rate now of 1.8 cents per kilowat hour—less than one-half the average charge for the nation as a whole.

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Other Towns Report TVA Power Cheaper

An anonymous circular recently scattered over the valley warned municipalities to "look carefully into what has happened at Pulaski, Tenn.," before voting to use TVA power. Pulaski was the first Tennessee town to contract for it and its reply is that the use of electric current per residential consumer has doubled at a net saving of $18.50 per resident customer, and that after all charges for interest, depreciation, amortized capital payments and replacement, they paid the town $1,700 to cover loss of taxes and had a balance of $12,000 in the treasury. Another significant development is that in the city of New Albany, Miss., which has taken over from the TVA a $123,000 rural electrification system covering four counties. New Albany trebled her consumption in the first year under TVA.

Rejoicing in the valley was somewhat tempered when it was realized that each and every dam may have to prove it is a bona fide flood and navigation project but there is every confidence that it can be done as the whole series provides only a 9-foot channel in the river.

* * *

Ministers Lead Attack on Tampa Outrage

In Tampa, Fla., the ministers led in a service of public penitence and denounced the flogging of three labor organizers which resulted in the death of one of them. The following day the mayor suspended six policemen and to date 11 have been indicted. The chief of police has been given an indefinite leave of absence. The American federation of labor threatened to change the place of their next meeting, which had been set for Tampa, but the governor ordered thorough investigation and prosecution and the convention will not withdraw if this is done. The county sheriff conducted an investigation after a perfunctory police department investigation had resulted in a whitewash. The ministers denounced the tragedy as a result of the city's corrupt politics. Their president called it "a symptom of a deep rooted disease" in city affairs.

* * *

Another Step in Kentucky's Mine War Liquidation

The latest chapter in the Harlan county, Kentucky, coal mining conflict is recorded in the pardoning by Gov. Lafoon, before he retired, of three of the seven miners sentenced to long penitentiary terms in the Evart strike war, and the suing of Sheriff Middleton and Judge Gilbert by union men for a total of $350,000. Fourteen suits were filed in the federal court and others will probably follow. Assault, unlawful arrest, wrongful imprisonment and abuse are charged. The United Mine workers remind Harlan county of the transformation wrought in Logan, W. Va., once the scene of bloody strife. After a sheriff had been sent to the penitentiary the field was organized and has since been a region of peace and prosperous work.

* * *

Public School Finances Badly Disorganized

After experiencing school strikes the Mississippi legislature voted an appropriation of a million dollars for the back pay of teachers. The teachers were offered warrants but refused to accept them because of the large discounts demanded to cash them. In Tennessee an organization has been formed to cash unpaid warrants at a 10 per cent discount. In Florida a woman's organization has been formed to agitate for an increase in school funds which they claim have decreased in eight years from more than $47,000,000 to less than $17,000,000.

* * *

Tennessee Thanks Korea for Returning Prosperity

Tennessee is celebrating, by proclamation of the governor, "Lespedeze week." This little legume, brought from Korea, is redeeming a million acres of land in the state and last year brought its farmers not less than $10,000,000 besides. It is rapidly making the state the leading dairy and hay producer of the south. It bids fair to replace even the blue grass of the richer central counties because it produces during the dry summer months.

* * *

Adventists Open School and Sanitarium for Negroes

The Seventh Day Adventists, supporters of the famous Agricultural institutes and sanitaria, have established a hospital and sanitarium for Negroes near Nashville. A former missionary to Africa, a friend of Cecil Rhodes, had developed a $40,000 plant which was donated to the Adventist conference. They will add $60,000 to the plant and establish a school for colored nurses.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Elect Chilean As Methodist Bishop

Nationals Now Control Denomination in South America—Celebrate Centenary This Year

(Correspondence from South America)

BUENOS AIRES, Feb. 19.—The fourth central conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, which met in Buenos Aires from Feb. 2 to 9, reelected Bishop Juan E. Gattinoni to a second four-year term, and elected to a first term Rev. Robert Elphick of Chile, the latter election being subject to the approval of the general conference. Bishop Gattinoni will reside in Buenos Aires, continuing as bishop of the Eastern South America annual conference and of the Bolivia mission conference, while Bishop Elphick will reside in Santiago, succeeding Dr. George A. Miller as bishop of the Chile annual conference, the Peru mission conference and the Central American mission conference. Bishop Gattinoni is Italian by birth, having come to Argentina at the age of six, where later he became a naturalized citizen. He graduated from the theological seminary in Buenos Aires in 1905 and has held the best pulpits of the Methodist church in this conference. He was the delegate to the centenary celebration which met in Columbus, Ohio, in 1919, and the first South American to become bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church. Bishop Elphick is Chilean by birth, and received his education in Chile, graduating from the theological seminary in Santiago.

* * *

Nationals Dominate Methodist Meeting

The central conference consisted of 31 qualified delegates, 16 of whom were ministers and 15 laymen. Fourteen were from the Eastern South America annual conference, 10 were from the Chile annual conference, four were from the Peru mission conference and three from the Bolivia mission conference. The delegate from the Central American mission conference did not arrive. With the exception of one missionary elected by the Eastern conference, one sent from Bolivia and one from Peru, all delegates were nationals. The deliberations of the conference inspired confidence as to the future of the Methodist Episcopal church in South America.

* * *

Methodist Annual Conference Holds Encouraging Session

The 44th Eastern South America annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal church met at the Central church in Buenos Aires from Jan. 22 to 28. This conference is composed of 51 churches and circuits with a total membership of 5,236 in full communion, a gain of 281 over the previous year. There are 70 church buildings and 39 parsonages held by the conference, with a total value of all properties amounting to about $900,000. Of the pres-

ent 45 ministerial members of the conference only eight are missionaries. The total funds contributed by the churches of the conference for all purposes in 1935 amounted to 191,941 pesos (about $55,000). Of the total expended for the support of the churches less than 10 per cent was received from missionary funds coming from outside of the conference area.

In the River Plate district, the Methodist Episcopal church more than any other body is manifesting its ability to interpret evangelical Christianity from the historical-sociological viewpoint. Rev. E. C. Balloch, pastor of the Central Methodist church in Buenos Aires, takes the lead, placing himself squarely in line with the socio-economic interpretation of the church's task. Also the Union Theological seminary in Buenos Aires, Dr. B. Foster Stockwell, rector, makes its approach from this viewpoint. By all odds the Methodists are taking the lead among the evangelical churches in this district in interpreting the Christian message in terms of a moral and social force in present-day society.

* * *

Bishop Leaves for United States

Bishop and Mrs. Juan E. Gattinoni left on the Pan America on Feb. 8 to spend three months in the United States. Bishop Gattinoni goes to take part in the campaign in celebration of the South America centenary, and Mrs. Gattinoni is the lay delegate from the Eastern South America conference to the general conference to be held in Columbus in May. Mrs. Gattinoni is English by birth, but has lived in South America since the age of six. They were accompanied by the Rev. Daniel E. Hall, pastor of the Central Methodist church in Montevideo, who goes as ministerial delegate from the Eastern South America annual conference to the general conference.

* * *

Dr. and Mrs. Poole to Make World Tour

Dr. and Mrs. William C. Poole left on the Buenos Aires Maru to spend six months on a world tour. They will spend time in the United States, China, Japan and other places in the orient, returning to Argentina by way of South Africa. Dr. Poole is pastor of the First Methodist church (American church) in Buenos Aires where he succeeded Dr. William A. Brown in 1930. Before coming to Buenos Aires, Dr. Poole had spent ten years with Christ church in London.

* * *

Methodists to Celebrate South America Centenary

In December 1836 the Rev. John Dempster arrived in Buenos Aires and founded the work of the Methodist Episcopal church in South America. His work was strictly confined to foreigners living in the city, and it was not until May 1867 that preaching was permitted in the language of the country, at which time Dr. John F. Thomson initiated work in the Spanish language. The 100th anniversary of this beginning in South America is being celebrated in the United States at the 1936 general conference, and will be officially celebrated in the American church in Buenos Aires in October, at which time it is expected that a special deputation will visit Buenos Aires from the United States.

J. DEXTER MONTGOMERY.

Speakers Warn of Fascism's Threat

Brotherhood Day Affords Opportunity for Stressing American Outlook—Sherwood Eddy Sees War

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, March 2.—The bitter persecution of Jews in Germany under the nazi regime and the somewhat milder persecution of Catholics and Protestants who refuse to make their churches instruments of the totalitarian state gave point and poignancy to the celebration of Brotherhood day in Chicago on Sunday, Feb. 23. But the speakers at the various commemorations of this day were not concerned merely with what is happening across the sea. Sinclair Lewis' "It Can't Happen Here" was frequently referred to in the discussions, and the assertion was made that it can easily happen here unless the representatives of the various religious faiths are alert and determined to practice brotherhood. Dean Charles W. Gilkey was chairman of the committee in charge of the celebration of the day, the other members being Judge John P. McGoorty, a prominent Catholic layman; Dr. Joshua Oden, president of the Chicago church federation; and Rabbi Samuel Schwartz, of Sinai temple. Joint meetings in which speakers representing the three faiths participated were held in many parts of the city and in Evanston, and, in addition, there were a large number of pulpit exchanges between Protestant clergymen and Jewish rabbis. A mass meeting was held Sunday afternoon, March 1, in the University of Chicago chapel, with Judge McGoorty, Richard E. Gutstadt and Henry P. Chandler as the speakers.

* * *

Round Table of Jews And Christians

The Chicago Round Table of Jews and Christians, of which General Charles Gates Dawes is chairman and Dr. James M. Yard is executive secretary, announces a seminar on human relations to be held in Thorne hall, on the McKinlock campus of Northwestern university, on March 16-17. Among the speakers and discussion leaders announced are Profs. A. R. Hatton, W. F. Byron, and E. D. Howard, of Northwestern university; Prof. William F. Ogburn, of the University of Chicago; President Albert W. Palmer, of Chicago Theological seminary; Prof. Charles P. O'Donnell, of DePaul university; Mr. Paul Scott Mowrer, former European correspondent and now editor of the Chicago Daily News; Dr. Curtis Reese, head resident of Abraham Lincoln center; Miss Harriet Vittum, head resident of Northwestern university settlement; and Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, director of the National Conference of Jews and Christians. Presiding at the various sessions will be Judge John P. McGoorty, Dr. Phillip L. Seman, President Thomas H. Nelson, and Rabbi Solomon Goldman.

* * *

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Other Spring Books

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By KARL BARTH

Five treatises—Revelation, the Church, Theology, the Ministry of the Word of God, the Christian as Witness—disclose the essence of Barth's concepts. $1.75

CHRISTIANITY AND PERSONALITY
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churches began their lenten observances last Wednesday; in this commemoration they were joined by Protestant groups which once held aloof from such observance of times and seasons. Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist pastors announced series of special sermons and in some cases special services for Lent, and the noonday lenten services to be conducted under the auspices of the Chicago church federation in Chicago temple will begin on Monday, March 30. Laymen and women, for the first time, joined the clergy in the annual Ash Wednesday retreat of the Methodist Episcopal church of the Chicago area, held this year at Gary Memorial church, Wheaton.

* * *

Sherwood Eddy at Union Ministers' Meeting

Sherwood Eddy, speaking before the monthly union ministers' meeting in the Central Y.M.C.A. auditorium, Feb. 24, drew a grim picture of the present world situation. Basing his views upon his most recent visit to Europe and his conversations with statesmen, economists, government officials and students of international affairs, he predicted another world war within ten years as a strong probability unless there is an unexpected change in the weather.

* * *

Youth to the Fore

Several important gatherings of church young people have recently been held or will be held in the near future. On Feb. 29, the first convention of Epworth league youth of high school age was held in the Ogden Park Methodist Episcopal church, with Bishop E. L. Waldorf and Dr. Blair S. Latshaw as speakers. A series of departmental conferences was held in the afternoon. On Feb. 22-23 the first convention of the Evangelical Young People's church federation, in joint session with delegates from the Chicago area young people's societies of the Reformed church in the United States, was held in Elmhurst, at St. Peter's church and Elmhurst college. A Chicago Baptist youth rally brought out about 1,000 young people on March 22-23. The meeting was held in First Baptist church, Oak Park, with Dr. James H. Franklin, president of the Northern Baptist convention, as the chief speaker. The Baptist young people have also announced their annual state youth congress, to be held in the Alton, Ill., high school, April 18-19; and the annual B.Y.P.U.A. convention at the Stevens hotel, Chicago, in July.

* * *

And So Forth

Protestant theological seminary students and faculty members were special guests at the Sunday Evening club's meeting, Feb. 23, when Henry Sloane Coffin was speaker.

A new type of course for seminary students is being pioneered by Dr. Murray H. Leiffer, of Garrett, which is intended to inform students about significant current events. Such problems as the Japanese crisis, the Italo-Ethiopian war, and the plight of the American farmer, are dealt with in this seminar.

President Oliver J. Buswell, of Wheaton college, was found guilty on charges of violating tenets of church discipline, by the judicial commission of the presbytery of Chicago, Feb. 27.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Britain Rushes Defense Plans

No Information Yet as to Financing of Rearmament Program—Dr. Visser 't Hooft Stirs Students

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Feb. 18.—There is no doubt that the government will carry through without much difficulty a scheme for making the national defenses adequate to the needs of the present hour. A debate on a private member's bill last Friday was used as an occasion for plain speaking upon the necessary administrative changes. Everyone knows that the three services jealously guard their own rights and privileges. It is essential that there should be a closer cooperation between navy, army and air forces. Some suggested a minister of defense; others said that such a man was not to be found; others that there should be a board intrusted with this duty. If there were to be such a board, then Mr. Baldwin must not be the chairman of it; so Sir Austen Chamberlain declared in an outspoken speech. It was clear that he—and he did not speak for himself only—considered that Mr. Baldwin is too busy a man and at the same time not qualified by his record for such a post. It was openly pointed out that the prime minister had been a misleading guide to the nation more than once in recent days. Already supplementary estimates of more than 8 million pounds are necessary to meet the expenses incurred in the Mediterranean. But how the main sum required for additional defense provisions is to be raised, we are not yet told.

* * *

Dr. 't Hooft on the Choice Before Students

Dr. Visser 't Hooft, the general secretary of the World's Student Christian federation, gave an address last week of remarkable penetration upon the mind of students of today. Students are tired of being students, he said; they want to be disciples and they look for masters and leaders. To live in this difficult world they need a sense of vocation and a sense of community. There is today a paradoxical conflict—the professors standing for freedom and individualism, the students for a sort of modern orthodoxy and authoritarianism. Their newly discovered loyalties take on religious or semi-religious qualities. But their self-created absolute, the myth, they know to be a product of desire or even despair; and there is the shadow of doubt and uncertainty upon these disciples of new religions, nationalism or communism or other systems.

But the students of the world see in other movements something which they do not see in the Christian church. They put this question: "Is there such a thing as a Christian *community?*" They mean a dynamic which binds men together in such a way that this particular loyalty becomes to them the greatest of all loyalties, the one that transcends all other forms of community. But so long as the Christian community recognizes barriers of nation, race and class and does not turn itself reso-

lutely against "the world," to use the biblical word, there will be no real Christian community in which young people of an age of mass movements can wholeheartedly believe. Such a community must live out its own inherent dynamic and must not borrow from the pseudo-religions; it must confront the world with one thing only—the gospel which is a power of renewal in every sphere of life.

In Dr. 't Hooft the world federation of students has a leader who can speak to the condition of students in this age.

* * *

Author of Mission Best Sellers Dies

Those who read only the headlines may miss the names of many who deserve to be held in honor. John C. Harris, who died at Beckenham last week, was a Congregational minister of many years' standing. At Kingston-on-Thames, Bath and Beckenham he showed himself a preacher of rare gifts, an administrator and organizer who drew to his church many gifted men. Many who are themselves leaders in the church owed much to his courageous, vivid, fresh mind. Yet if he had not been pressed to write for the L.M.S. he would have written practically nothing for publication. The mission society drew from him two brilliant little books—best-sellers both of them—"The Life of Khama" and "Couriers of Christ." They reveal everywhere his picturesque style and his deep insight into the spiritual world. He was a man not easily classified. Sometimes he was criticized as a modernist, and he was certainly a man who would not commit himself to any traditional school of theology. But in his inmost heart he kept the fire burning which was lighted in his youth when he set out to preach among the Methodists, as so many Cornishmen did.

* * *

And So Forth

An appointment of importance in the London press is announced today. Mr. Gerald Barry is to be the managing editor of the News-Chronicle. Mr. Barry is only 37, but he has had a most brilliant career as an editor, occasional writer and speaker on the radio. He founded the Week-End Review, now incorporated in the New Statesman, and there as always he showed courage and the spirit of adventure. He always seems to enjoy his job—a great quality in a journalist. He is a younger brother of Canon F. R. Barry of Westminster, the author of "The Relevance of Christianity."

Dr. Major, who is a leader of the Modern Churchmen, does not want immediate liturgical legislation. He would prefer a more gradual process by means of which the bishops would eliminate "liturgical practices which we should be the better without." He declares that evangelicals and the liberal clergy have no hesitation in omitting from, adding to and altering the prayer book, provided they keep to its principles and spirit. But Lord Cecil thinks this to be a breach of the definite undertaking made by such clergy at their ordination. Having vowed to use the 1662 prayer book, the clergy almost without exception make changes or omissions. This leads to confusion and an appearance of insincerity. So Lord Cecil, who was chairman of the commission, declares.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Weather Keeps Pastors at Home

Indiana State Convention Handicapped by Elements—Dr. Tobias Depicts Typical 'True' Negro

(Correspondence from Indiana)

INDIANAPOLIS, Feb. 20.—The annual state pastors' conference was one of the finest held, when judged by the array of talent which graced the platform. But the roads were one mass of ice. Besides, other denominational groups had interfering meetings. Dr. Tittle's train was two hours late; Dr. Brewbaker of Dayton could not come; Dr. Backemeyer was unable to be here, and Prof. Cordier found the driving too difficult to attempt filling his engagement. So there is a deficit. But those who came were richly rewarded. Dr. A. W. Fortune of Lexington led the devotions throughout, speaking on the great affirmations of the Christian faith. Dr. P. R. Hayward of the International council of religious education spoke twice on questions concerning religious education, the ministry and youth. President G. Bromley Oxnam discussed the church and the crisis of democracy, and Dr. E. F. Tittle spoke on the Christian idea of God and the centrality of Christ. I think that Bishop E. H. Hughes of Washington thrilled the pastors with his address on the paternal heart in the minister. Prof. W. G. Mather of Franklin college presented some rural church problems. Mr. E. P. Bowen presented the cooperative movement, and Dr. Rufus Jones gave two spirited addresses on the recovery of the lost radiance.

There were a number of commissions into which the ministers divided themselves, such as rural, city and Sunday problems, social service, race, industrial, international and comity relations. Several resolutions were adopted advocating a return to local option, condemning martial law in Indiana strike areas, and opposing the military disaffection bill forbidding criticisms on the army and navy. Several other resolutions were adopted, among them one asking for revision of the present reformatory system.

* * *

Methodists Study Social Action

A two-day seminar for selected Methodist ministers was held here last week under the auspices of the state commission of Christian education. About 100 picked ministers sat for two days in quiet discussions of the new curriculum of leadership training, and especially of the proper technique for a Christian social action in economics. Bishop Edgar Blake took part in the discussions, as did Profs. Hildebrand and Bartlett of De Pauw.

* * *

Y Leader Describes 'True' Negro

Dr. Channing Tobias, national Negro Y secretary, spoke at the central Y meeting on Race Relations Sunday. He also addressed a group of guests at the central Y. He said that there are two types of Negro who are not true types. The one

ABINGDON

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is the condescending, hypocritical Negro who always kowtows in a false deference to whites. The other is the arrogant Negro who possesses a revolutionary attitude. Neither is a real help in the situation between the races. The true Negro type is one who realistically sees the differences and yet who has strong attitudes and is willing to be patient and suffer. Some of the desires of the Negro he listed as equal pay for equal work, a right to live in decency and sanitation, right before the law (plain justice), equality of educational opportunities, the right to hold his own convictions and a possibility of associating with those with whom he has similar spiritual interests. Lynching is not perpetuated or executed in lower white classes, but it comes from a segregation of life which is tolerated and sustained by higher-ups. Segregation in ethics follows. Race Relations Sunday was a bad day here, but while there were few exchanges of pulpits, yet colored talent was welcomed in many white churches and Sunday schools. The governor also proclaimed yesterday as Brotherhood Sunday throughout the state.

* * *

And So Forth

Civic Heroes week was observed with some good cooperation from schools and newspapers. The Times carried a cartoon showing that all heroes are not necessarily military. The movie on the life of Pasteur fitted into the program.

Choirs from city churches will take part in a city-wide music festival in May. Approximately 1,000 will participate. Jacob Evanson, dean of Western Reserve university school of music, will conduct.

The First Baptist church is conducting its annual winter college. Many courses are offered and outstanding speakers are engaged to address the mass sessions. Last week Dr. A. E. Holt of Chicago was one of the speakers.

Butler university professors have recently set up a cooperative credit union.

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN.

Death of John Hope, Leading Negro Educator

Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta university since 1929, and during the preceding 25 years head of Morehouse college, which in 1929 was affiliated with Atlanta university, died in Atlanta Feb. 20 at the age of 68. Dr. Hope, recognized as one of the foremost leaders of the Negro race and one of its outstanding educators, had devoted his life since his graduation from Brown university in 1894 to the education of Negro youth. Five universities in this country and Canada honored Dr. Hope with degrees.

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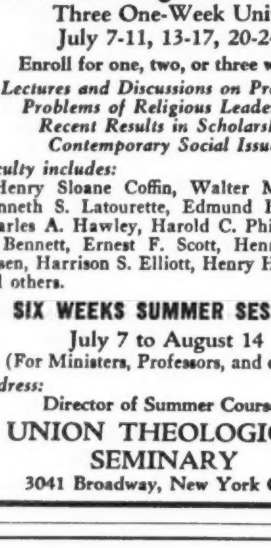

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Seminary Holds Winter Institute

Pastors Crowd to Hear Pittsburgh Lectures—University in Trouble with Gov. Earle

(Correspondence from Pittsburgh)

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 26.—The winter conference held annually by the Western Theological seminary for ministers and laymen was held this year Feb. 26-29. Two of the lecturers were from outside the city and two from the seminary itself. The outsiders were Dr. Joseph A. Vance, pastor of the First Presbyterian church, Detroit, and moderator of the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and Dr. Edwin Lewis, professor of systematic theology and philosophy of religion in Drew Theological seminary. The lecturers from the seminary were Dr. William R. Farmer, professor of sacred rhetoric and elocution, and Dr. James A. Kelso, president and professor of Old Testament literature. Dr. Vance is lecturing on "Great Questions of Theology for Today"; Dr. Lewis on "The Evangelical Christian Faith"; Dr. Farmer on "Marriage: Its Ethic and Religion," and President Kelso on "The Christian Ethic of War." If one could see this group of ministers and laymen buzzing with conversation in the halls of the seminary or engaged in interesting debates at the tables, one would soon recognize the service which the seminary is affording to these hard-working ministers, many of whom are toiling on a small stipend.

* * *

An Honest Mayor

Mayor William N. McNair was swept into office with a surprising democratic vote in the presidential year. His outstanding characteristic is honesty, and this is certainly news in the United States of America! His most recent campaign has been a drive upon the "numbers racket." His strategy is to strike once and then after a brief delay to strike again. As a result, he has the men engaged in this nefarious racket reduced to desperation. In a recent poll conducted by one of the leading newspapers, the popularity of the mayor was surprising, which goes to show that an American city does recognize and appreciate honesty in a mayor.

* * *

Carnegie Institute Calls New President

Some months ago, Dr. Thomas S. Baker, after years of conspicuous service, retired as president of this great school of technology. During the intervening months the trustees have been seeking a worthy successor. On Feb. 25, the trustees voted to call Robert Ernest Doherty, present dean of the engineering school of Yale university and a recognized expert in the field of electrical research. Dr. Doherty was for many years an assistant to the famous C. P. Steinmetz, the electrical wizard of the General Electric company. He is 51 years old, belongs to the Congregational church, is the father of two sons

and one daughter. He will begin his work with the autumn quarter.

* * *

Trouble at the University Of Pittsburgh

The University of Pittsburgh has been getting some unwelcome publicity lately. For one thing, it was blacklisted by the American Association of university professors in the belief that freedom was restricted in the university. While one would hesitate to criticize such an august body, still it would seem to those of us who understand the situation rather well that the vote was entirely too drastic. Following this, the governor of Pennsylvania, George H. Earle, took a hand in affairs and threatened to cut off the $1,188,000 which the state grants to the university biennially, unless certain liberalizing administrative changes were made. After a good bit of talk back and forth, it now appears that 25,000 Pitt alumni will ballot by mail to select six trustees under the plan most recently submitted by the governor. The governor also desires to appoint two trustees and thereby be assured, he claims, of academic freedom and security of tenure for Pitt faculty members.

If the governor should withdraw the state appropriation, it would mean a loss of at least 2,000 students and 100 faculty members. This would be a blow which the university could ill afford. Just how much politics is mixed up in this squabble, local people find it hard to determine. However, I think it can be definitely maintained that the majority of intelligent Pittsburghers strongly approve of their great university and believe thoroughly in the management which Chancellor John G. Bowman is giving it. Some light is thrown upon the picture when it is understood that the state senate is allowed 600 patronage scholarships at Pitt.

* * *

Reduce Debt on Church

An impressive service was held in the Abbey church (Evangelical and Reformed), Huntingdon, Pa., on the evening of Feb. 2, when the trustees turned over to the minister, Rev. Hobard D. McKeehan, cancelled notes to the amount of $84,500 which represented indebtedness on the new structure which was designed by Ralph Adams Cram.

* * *

Rector Goes to Columbus

Rev. C. Ronald Garmey, for 10 years assistant rector of Calvary Episcopal church, was tendered a reception by the parish just before he left for Columbus, O., where he will be rector of St. Paul's. Mr. Garmey has made a great many friends during his stay in Pittsburgh who believe that he has a bright future in his new work at Columbus.

* * *

The Fate of Evening Services

On all sides I am hearing pastors ask whether evening services shall be abandoned. They are at their wits end. One of our largest churches, possessing a magnificent choir and a beautiful building, had only 20 people at a recent evening service. Most of these were older people who came from a sense of duty. Was it worth the effort? Are people staying home to listen to the radio programs—especially Major Bowes? Do people want the Sunday evening with their children—and do they do anything for the children when they stay at home? Is it pure inertia which keeps people by the warm fires and in the soft chairs? Would it not be better to put all of the emphasis into the morning worship period and devote the evening to quiet meetings for the young people of the parish? Only a handful of our Pittsburgh churches are making any success at all of the evening hour. Is this merely a local problem or is it representative of the entire United States? I would like to know.

* * *

Book Reviews Draw Throngs

Rabbi Solomon Freehof of the Rodef Shalom temple has been attracting 1,200 people, mostly women, to his Wednesday morning book reviews. He is a genius in this field. I append his list: "Europe," by Robert Briffault; "Paths of Glory," by Humphrey Cobb; "Hindenburg," by Emil Ludwig; "The Russian Revolution," by Henry Chamberlin; "Personal History," by Vincent Sheean; "I, Claudius," by Robert Graves; "The Life of Omar Khayyam," by Harold Lamb; "Erasmus of Rotterdam," by Stefan Zweig; "Mary, Queen of Scotland," by Stefan Zweig; "Catherine of Russia," by Gina Kaus; "Young Joseph," by Thomas Mann.

* * *

"The Hardest Winter Since Valley Forge"

After talking to a large number of pastors, I am convinced that never in the history of men now living have ministers had to go through such a difficult winter, so far as the weather is concerned, as the one which is now ending. Sunday schools have been greatly reduced in attendance, the morning services cut in half, and in many cases the evening services reduced to practically nothing. Many people put their cars up in garages and did not take them

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•

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That the fundamental issue today is not Capital vs. Labor, but Productive Capitalism vs. Finance Capitalism, is increasingly realized by such leaders of thought as President Glenn Frank of Wisconsin University (See Christian Century, Jan. 22, 1936, page 141). Find out how to unscramble good capitalism from bad capitalism, assist private enterprise, and enlarge the demand for labor by reading—

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out for a full month. Our streets have been covered with sheets of ice, sometimes a foot thick, so that the transportation problem has been most difficult. The great thaw began on Monday, Feb. 24, just in time for the beginning of Lent, and now we have 45 days until Easter during which the harvest of the present year will have to be gathered in.

JOHN RAY EWERS.

SAFEGUARD PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL

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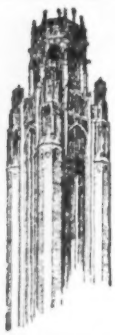

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New York Hit By Elevator Strike

Negotiations at Standstill as Tension Grows—Open Chinese Center—New Rochester Coadjutor

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, March 2.—This office is on the twelfth floor of a midtown office building. Of its three elevators only one is in use, and its operator is none other than the superintendent himself. Strikers with placards are pacing up and down the sidewalks of New York. Policemen with their nightsticks are everywhere in evidence, and beneath the good-natured joshing by the cliff dwellers, with definite references to the not-so-skilful manipulation of the elevator by the emergency operator, there is considerable tension, what with the mayor feverishly seeking a way out, policemen not knowing what the next hour may bring and the firemen (it is reported) being groomed as strikebreakers. Governor Lehman's residence, Mayor LaGuardia's apartment and Al Smith's Empire State building all are involved.

The strike centers around demands, on the part of the unions, for a wage increase, shorter working hours and a closed shop. Building owners, through the realty advisory board on labor relations, flatly oppose these demands on the ground that they are unfair and impossible to meet without boosting rents and impairing service. The big underlying issue is whether the owners of the buildings or the various service unions shall have the ultimate control over the employes.

Both sides are very determined. The refusal of the owners and the somewhat overbearing manner of the strike leader, Mr. Bambrick, have made negotiations difficult; but this fight, which may be only in its early stages, is thoroughly characteristic of the great labor struggles which have developed throughout the country during the past two years.

* * *

New Chinatown Center Plans
Broad Education Program

A Chinese Christian center which began as a Baptist "Morning Star mission" more than 40 years ago, was dedicated in the heart of New York's Chinatown yesterday at a large and impressive service. Hundreds of members, guests and casual visitors crowded the five floors of this recently completed building to hear an unusual and distinguished gathering of speakers. Many leaders of various Chinese groups were present, including: Hon. Tsune-chi Yu, Chinese consul general of New York; Mr. Hin Tse Wu, United States representative of Confucians; Mr. Paul T. Linn, of the Chinese benevolent association, and others. Dr. Charles C. Tillinghast and Dr. Charles H. Sears, president and general secretary, respectively, of the New York City Mission society, were also on the program.

This community center, under the leadership of Miss Mabel Lee, a Ph.D. of Columbia university, will devote itself to problems peculiar to Chinatown. It has a Sunday and weekday program of education, religious and secular, with special courses in English for all ages, a kindergarten, scout troops and young people's organizations.

* * *

Teachers Flock to Training Courses in Manhattan

More than 2,000 Sunday and weekday religious training school teachers and superintendents are entering, this week, upon their last quarter of courses offered, for the session 1935-1936, in twelve strategic educational and religious centers in Manhattan. These schools are sponsored by a large interdenominational committee under the leadership of Miss Mary Denniston of the greater New York federation of churches. It numbers among its members such educators as Prof. Adelaide T. Case of Teachers college and Prof. James C. Egbert of the Columbia university extension department.

The best available teaching staff has been assembled, and the courses offered include subjects of general interest as well as subjects and problems peculiar to the various communities where these training schools are held. At Union seminary there is a course in arts and crafts and another in personal religious problems. At the Abyssinian Baptist church, in Harlem, there are courses in domestic economy, health, sanitation, economic problems and cultural and racial relationships. New York's east side and west side have their own peculiar problems with training classes designed to meet them. The closing quarter runs from March 2 to April 6.

* * *

Instructor Sues for Right To Fight Hearst

Rev. Edward Rochie Hardy, jr., an instructor in the General Theological seminary, has brought suit in federal court to compel the New York city postmaster to accept in the mails envelopes bearing anti-Hearst propaganda. Dr. Hardy on Jan. 29, had dropped into the U. S. mails an envelope upon which was attached a sticker bearing, in red, white and blue, the inscription: "I don't read Hearst. The League against yellow journalism." The postmaster declared such a letter unmailable under existing postal regulations. Dr. Hardy, aided and abetted by Arthur Garfield Hayes of the American Civil Liberties union, has countered with the statement that the letter was "in every respect mailable," and with the above mentioned suit. Judgment is now pending.

* * *

Dr. B. H. Reinheimer to be Bishop Coadjutor

Officers of the national organization of the Episcopal church will leave this city today to participate in the consecration as bishop coadjutor of Rochester, N. Y., of Rev. Bartel H. Reinheimer. Dr. Reinheimer has been for the past five years head of the field department of the national council of a New York church.

The party will be headed by the presiding bishop, Rev. James de Wolf Perry, who is to be Dr. Reinheimer's consecrator. Others of the party are Rev. Philip Cook, bishop of Delaware and president of the council; Rev. G. Warfield Hobbs, executive secretary of the department of publicity; Dr. Lewis B. Franklin, vice-president and treasurer of the national council, and Rev. C. Rankin Barnes who has just resigned as executive secretary of the department of Christian social service.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.

Georgia Officer Defies Governor

Comptroller-General Refuses to Honor Drafts—University Students Are Disciplined for Cheating

(Correspondence from the Southeast)

TAMPA, Feb. 26.—Georgia's dictator-governor, Eugene Talmadge, is confronted with a major dilemma in trying to crack the state's safe and pay the various departmental payrolls what is due them. The comptroller-general was forcibly removed by militiamen on Feb. 24 for refusing to sign drafts on the treasury for the amounts needed, basing his refusal on the lack of any legislative budget enactment. The assembly adjourned without acting on a 1936 budget and the governor, who has been at cross-purposes with the state representatives, refuses to call them into extra session on grounds of economy. The comptroller-general set a time lock on the treasury vault at the maximum time of 72 hours, or three days, and the governor's newly appointed state comptroller can't get the money.

* * *

Owen Young Asks for Radio Urbanity

Owen D. Young, speaking before the students of Rollins college, Winter Park, Fla., last week deplored the intemperate language of many political radio speakers. He said freedom of speech was threatened by the extremely critical and frequently abusive speeches of political leaders and protagonists and antagonists of the administration. He leveled a rebuke at Alfred E. Smith and Senator Joseph Robinson for their respective radio roughness and irascibility. Mr. Young pointed out that freedom of speech was won in America at too dear a price and is of too great worth to be jeopardized by hot-headed speakers who fail to measure their words and phrases. At the end of his talk Mr. Young received one of Rollins' honorary degrees from President Hamilton Holt.

* * *

Poteat Talks at Florida Women's College

Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat, Raleigh, N. C., delivered the annual Religious Emphasis week lectures to the students of the Florida state college for women, Tallahassee, the week of Feb. 9. Taking as his theme "The Adequacy of Jesus in the Modern World," he gave a characteristic and stimulating analysis of our times and the ethical and social demands laid down by Jesus. Dr. P. F. Finner, professor of psychology, declared the addresses were a "distinct contribution to life on the campus." Religious emphasis programs have been presented annually at the college for the past five years.

* * *

Dr. Gordon, "Quiet Talker," Speaks to Students

Dr. S. D. Gordon, noted for his "Quiet Talks" on many themes of a personal and devotional nature, delivered a series of talks to the students of Agnes Scott college, Decatur, Ga., during the week of Feb. 9. Dr. Gordon, always a favorite speaker in the Atlanta area, was also preacher in a series of services in the North Avenue Presbyterian church.

* * *

Carolina Universities Discipline Students for Cheating

Four students were recently dismissed from the University of South Carolina, and 43 students were suspended at the University of North Carolina, for running a cheating ring in the two universities. The student councils of the two institutions acted against the students involved when it was shown that they had "illegally procured and sold examination questions" from various departments of the university for mid-year tests. Questions of honor have arisen in several southeastern institutions in recent years, but this is the first time organized groups of students have undertaken to defraud in a planned racket of this nature.

* * *

Northern Presbyterian Leaders Lecture in Virginia

Union Theological seminary (Presbyterian) of Richmond, Va., heard Dr. Charles R. Erdmann, Dr. Robert E. Speer and Dr. John M. Wells, of Sumter, S. C., former moderator of the southern church, in the annual Sprunt lectures, Feb. 2-8. Dr. Erdman and Dr. Speer, both former moderators of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., delivered addresses daily in the seminary chapel each morning. Dr. Wells discussed "The Minister."

* * *

Calls for Freedom for College Teachers

Dean John B. Clark of Mercer university, Macon, Ga., issued a strong defense of freedom for teachers in college and university faculties before the recent session of the Association of Georgia colleges and universities. "We are endeavoring to run a 20th century social and economic setup with 18th century political philosophy," he asserted. Teachers who feel that there is an inadequate present effort to create social security and attain economic progress with our existing machinery and methods, and frankly say so are "put on the rack" and otherwise intimidated and coerced by subversive, loyalty-legislating groups in many schools, Dean Clark thinks. The educator scored the super-patriotic groups who would indulge in gag rule and dictate the scope of thought and utterances to teachers of social sciences.

President Spright Dowell, of Mercer university, asked that colleges and universities face the responsibility of "conserving the students' faith and loyalty" as their debt to religion, the source of education. "Ninety per cent of all college students profess membership in some church and a large percentage of the college population are in church-founded or church-endowed colleges," he added.

ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR.

Robert Clements Leaves Seminary Post

Dr. Robert Clements has been compelled by ill health to resign from his post as professor of pastoral theology at Presbyterian seminary, Chicago. He has gone to Oklahoma, under physician's orders. Dr. Clements has resigned also from the presidency of the church extension board of the Chicago presbytery. Rev. Clarence A. Spaulding, of River Forest, Ill., has been appointed to this office.

Production of Distilled Spirits Mounts

According to the U. S. Bureau of internal revenue, production of legal distilled spirits in the fiscal year 1935 was 31 per cent above that in 1934.

The Religious Book Club Selection for March

THE RESOURCES of RELIGION

Georgia Harkness

"Intellectual vigor and an inspirational quality combine to make this book appeal to both mind and heart. One feels in it the warm pulse of life. It is not merely an argument about religion—it is vital religion revealing its secret to others. And along with the vitality there is mentality. . . .

"One of the most incisive sections has to do with the current 'paganism' with which religion is confronted today. We face an *economic* paganism which brings about an 'unholy glorification of profit'; yet we must not fall into the Marxian error of assuming that any rearrangement of economic forces will get rid of the fact of sin, which is the final cause of our social chaos. We face a *nationalistic* paganism which makes nation or race the object of supreme loyalty. We face a *scientific* paganism which finds no truth outside of the realm which can be measured in quantitative terms. We face a *cultural* paganism which substitutes aestheticism and gentility for religious vision and passion. The analysis of the 'modern Epicurean' and of the 'modern Stoic' and of their futility in meeting the real problems of life will not soon be forgotten."—*Religious Book Club Bulletin.* **$2**

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Meditations on the Cross
By Toyohiko Kagawa ($1.50)

Varieties of American Religion
By Charles S. Braden ($2)

Ten-Minute Sermons
By Lewis H. Chrisman ($2)

The American Way: Human Relations between Protestants, Catholics and Jews
By Newton D. Baker, Carlton J. H. Hayes and Roger Straus ($1.25)

American Philosophies of Religion
By H. N. Wieman and B. E. Meland ($3)

Religion Renounces War
By Walter W. Van Kirk ($2)

Creative Sceptics
By T. V. Smith ($2)

John Frederick Oberlin
By Marshall Dawson ($1.50)

Form Criticism
By Frederick C. Grant ($2)

Christian Missions and a New World Culture
By Archibald G. Baker ($2)

Contemporary American Literature and Religion
By Halford E. Luccock ($2)

Quotable Poems: First Series
By Clark and Gillespie ($2.50)

Quotable Poems: Second Series
By Thomas Curtis Clark ($2.50)

100 Poems of Peace
Compiled by Clark and Garrison ($1.25)

100 Poems of Immortality
Compiled by Clark and Garrison ($1.25)

Celebrities on Parade
By William Dana Orcutt ($2.75)

The Bible Through the Centuries
By Herbert L. Willett ($2.50)

The Jew Through the Centuries
By Herbert L. Willett ($3)

The Curse in the Colophon
By Edgar J. Goodspeed ($2)

The Daily Altar
By H. L. Willett and C. C. Morrison (Cloth $1; leather $2.50)

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Nazi Propaganda Rules Olympics

Winter Games Bring Truce for Jews—But Contest with Churches Grows Increasingly Critical

(Correspondence from Germany)

FRANKFURT, Feb. 18.—This is Olympic year in Germany. The winter games have just closed in Garmisch-Partenkirchen and everybody appears to be well pleased with what has happened. German organization and hospitality have certainly left their impression upon the foreign visitor and it is confidently hoped that he is returning to his own land a herald of the peacefulness, tolerance and liberality of the third reich. If this is the case, then the nazis have achieved their end. For while, naturally, they would also like to see their fellow-countrymen (provided they are of good Aryan stock) carry off many prizes, the greater end is political and economic, as any nazi will not hesitate to tell you in private conversation. The visitor certainly would have found it hard to testify from his own experience that anything untoward was happening in this country, for even the copies of Der Sturmer, which formerly ornamented so many glass cases in Bavaria, and the sign, "No Jews desired," which had hung for so long outside many a village, had been removed for the time being.

* * *

Pastor Jacobi Preaches Despite Threats

Probably no greater contrast could have been imagined than that of the friendly departing speeches emphasizing the great ideals of sport, made at Garmisch-Partenkirchen last Sunday, while almost simultaneously in the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial church in the center of Berlin Pastor Jacobi was being handed a threatening letter as he passed from the altar to the pulpit and dire punishment promised him if he dared to preach. But, of course, he preached and to a church packed to suffocation, and surrounded by a "bodyguard" of 50 oppositional pastors, who stood in front of the altar. The atmosphere was tense when Pastor Jacobi gave out his text, "If God be for us, who can be against us?" and reports from eyewitnesses show that the special spies of the secret police who were present had little else to report than that if such a meeting were any indication, the strength of the opposition in the Protestant church showed no sign of waning.

* * *

Opposition Still Blocks Nazi Church Program

The contrast between the inner strength of the opposition and the weakness of the official government-supported church committees is nowhere better shown than in the fact that practically every committee which has been appointed has failed to function except on paper, and it is clearly revealed that they are mere instruments in the hands of totalitarian politicians. In Schleswig-Holstein, for example, the German Christian members of the committee even refused to sign a declaration against the "new paganism," and seemed surprised when the rest of the committee would not cooperate further in "Christian work."

The oppositional synod is meeting just as these lines are being written, and it is generally expected that the radical wing, which is against practically any compromise with the nazis because they do not trust them, will win through. If so, then another of those underground "reigns of terror," about which everybody knows but nobody dares to report, will be inaugurated. What the poor pastor of a small town or village, overwhelmingly nazi, has to suffer if his convictions are anti-nazi, can only be imagined.

* * *

Contest with Catholics Renewed Over Youth Control

In the Rhineland, the antagonism against the Roman Catholics has broken out afresh. Only a week ago, Cardinal Schulte, archbishop of Cologne, sent a telegram of protest to Hitler against the arrest of 150 Catholics, most of whom were active officers and members of one or another of the Catholic youth organizations. The secret police, following arrests in Dusseldorf and other parts of this area, published the fantastic story that they had found proofs of the connection between these men and certain communist "cells," and that they were instigating "insidious attacks against the state." Even the 100 per cent nazis in Frankfurt find this hard to accept!

The struggle against the Roman Catholic youth organizations, which has since extended to the whole reich, is aimed at securing control of these organizations for the Hitler Youth and the German League of Youth, which Baldur von Schirach has announced is shortly to be established. Today, it is admitted that attempts to incorporate Catholic children in nazi associations "through persuasion" have failed, and so this must be taken as the beginning of a new assault, the effect of which will be to obtain compulsorily for the state, the children whom their parents "misguidedly" refuse to hand over. Between the present situation and the dissolution of Catholic youth organizations stands the letter of the concordat signed between the vatican and the third reich in 1933. But whether that will be honored, remains to be seen.

* * *

Pastor Niemöller Writes Defiant Pamphlet

A pamphlet, suppressed in Germany, but recently come into my hands, indicates the boldness with which the confessional church still openly fights the totalitarian state. It is issued under the name of Pastor Martin Niemöllor of Berlin-Dahlem. The pamphlet totally rejects the spiritual authority of the state and its instruments, such as the new ministry of ecclesiastical affairs, under Herr Kerrl, and attacks the present conditions by saying that "a characteristic of the present situation is that when ecclesiastical and political interests clash, then the latter have first consideration." Political interests, he continues, demand tranquillity, as in the time of Pontius Pilate, but the "word of God is a goad, an exaction, and unrest" and when, as now, obviously false doctrines have penetrated even into the very leadership of the church ". . . to exact tranquillity at such a time is to perpetuate the false doctrines and to stifle the living power of

Christ." Summing up the whole situation, Pastor Niemöllor declares: "The paralysis of the evangelical church in Germany must be resisted before it is too late. The freedom of the church to obey God's word must be maintained. If this cannot be done without a fight, the fault is not with the confessional church. . . . In this hour there is but one command: We must obey God rather than man."

* * *

Pressure on Jews Grows Heavier

The position of the Jew is every day becoming more difficult in industry and business, especially for the small employe. Hitherto, Jewish employes have been dismissed because their employers declared that to keep them meant the sacrifice of state and municipal contracts. But now a Jew (against whom there was no complaint) has lost an appeal against dismissal in the Weimar provincial labor court on the grounds that his dismissal was in keeping with the nazi policy which aimed at separating Jews from non-Jews in economic life. Such an attitude is the logical conclusion of such a speech as was recently made by Hitler at the burial of Wilhelm Gustlof, the nazi leader in Switzerland who was killed at Davos by a Jugoslav Jewish student. "Behind the harmless, misled fellow-countrymen who were stirred up stands the malignant power of our Jewish enemy, to whom we have done no wrong, but who tried to enslave our people. He (the Jew) is responsible for all the misfortune which befell us in November 1918, and for the misfortunes which visited Germany in the following year." (It might be interesting to recall that it was General Ludendorff the "Nord of Nords" who was for surrender of the German armies in 1918. Walter Rathenau, one of the "Jewish enemy" was for a plebiscite.)

In contrast to all the Jews are accused of doing Hitler made the surprising statement, which made even the mild citizens of Frankfurt shrug their shoulders: ". . . . in the rise of our movement not a single opponent was murdered by us and our movement was not stained by one assassination. From the beginning we never fought with such weapons." One prominent Berlin paper (D.A.Z.) recently found it necessary to warn foreign nations that they should not be surprised if the nazi party carried out its program "with greater determination." But most people believe this is . . . not yet. Wait until after the Olympic games!

A. S. EKER.

Catholics Excel in Medical Ministrations

More than 25 million persons in Asia, Africa, the islands of the Pacific, and the East Indies received medical treatment last year in the 3300 Catholic hospitals and dispensaries located in those sections of the world, according to the Catholic news service. This treatment is given without cost, all expense being borne by the mission alms of Catholics throughout the world.

Named Episcopal Bishop Of Liberia

Rev. Leopold Kroll, who served for five years as dean of the Episcopal cathedral, Port au Prince, Haiti, has just been consecrated bishop of Liberia. The consecration service was held at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York city.

Texans Honor Sam Houston

Religious Services Attended by Political Leaders—Methodists Plan for Evangelistic Campaign

(Correspondence from the Southwest)

WACO, March 2.—Texas grows increasingly centennial-minded. Yesterday and today, the anniversary of Texas independence and also the birthday of Sam Houston, hero of the Texas revolution, was celebrated by Baptists as "Sam Houston Day." At Huntsville, Houston's last home, in the Baptist church, Attorney General McGraw delivered a commemoration address. At Washington-on-the-Brazos, where Sam Houston moved the adoption of the independence document on March 2, 1836, former Gov. Pat M. Neff, president of Baylor university, delivered an address. Gov. Allred of Texas and Gov. LaFollette of Wisconsin attended. Numerous Baptist churches throughout the state observed the anniversary of this titanic Texan, whose late changed life, after his wayward days, made him an inspiring, creative force in the early religious work of Texas.

* * *

Kagawa in Texas

This is Kagawa month for Texas. The Japanese leader will spend the week of March 16-21 in Houston, Austin and Dallas in the order named. It is presumed his meetings and conferences will follow the line of such gatherings as he has held in other cities.

* * *

Methodists Preparing for Evangelistic Drive

Methodists are engaged in extensive training conferences preparatory to their spring and summer evangelistic campaigns. In First church, Dallas, W. C. Martin, pastor, they have just concluded a notable local church workers school with a distinguished faculty gleaned from different denominations.

* * *

Diocese Holds Annual Conference

Episcopalians of the Texas diocese, Bishop Clinton S. Quin of Houston presiding, have held a satisfactory council meeting, their 87th annual session, with the Palmer Memorial church, Houston. They held their 17th annual student council in Bryan, Feb. 22-23.

* * *

Pastor Announces Objectives Gained

Max M. Morrison, succeeding Ilion T. Jones in the Madison Square Presbyterian church, San Antonio, thought to vary the emphasis from preaching to organizational activity and announces that the ten major objectives set up a year ago have been achieved.

* * *

To Build Large School Plant

First Baptist church, San Antonio, Roy Angell pastor, has just concluded special

Palestine

The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations

ANNOUNCES PLANS FOR a group of Ministers, Bible teachers and others who with their wives wish a thoughtful, delightful party, not too large and a "different" itinerary. They will sail from New York, July 7th on the Pilsudski and visit Edinburgh, Copenhagen, cross Poland and Roumania; go from Istanbul to Haifa; sixteen days in Palestine; returning through Greece, Italy, France, and arriving New York, Sept. 3rd. Leader: Rev. Stephen Palmer. Price $770, round trip from New York; Tourist Class (which is top class) on Pilsudski, Gdynia-American Line; second-class, rail; first-class hotels in Palestine. For folders giving details write

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or

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meetings conducted by P. E. Burroughs, head of the Southern Baptist department of church administration, Nashville, and as a result announces the launching of a large educational building program.

* * *

Epidemics Close Churches

Epidemics of influenza and other communicable diseases, particularly measles and meningitis, have occasioned the closing of public schools and churches in several cities of Texas, as Texarkana and Beaumont. The unusually severe winter has worked a serious impairment to church work everywhere in this section.

* * *

And So Forth

This week a statewide meeting for pastors and church workers is being held in Waco, at which President Ivan Lee Holt of the Federal council of churches is the leading speaker. At San Antonio the West Texas conference will hold a similar meeting in the Travis Park church.

Wallace Bassett has completed 19 years in Cliff Temple Baptist church, Dallas, which now has a membership of 5,000. At Lubbock, R. C. Campbell has just celebrated his sixth anniversary in the First Baptist church, which has attained a membership of 3,000.

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON.

POETRY and LIFE

S. Parkes Cadman *writes* to Thomas Curtis Clark author of

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and

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Plan Peace Campaign

Friends Service Committee Leads in Nation-wide Effort to Prevent New War

Calling upon the people of the United States to make a sacrifice for peace now to prevent war and its more costly sacrifices later, a group of national leaders will launch on April 1 an emergency peace campaign which during the next two years will attempt to mobilize the peace sentiment of America into a force powerful enough to relieve conditions which, it is felt, are sweeping this country and the world into a new war. Initiated by the American Friends service committee, Philadelphia, the campaign will enlist the cooperation of numerous religious, labor, student and other groups. Dr. W. O. Mendenhall, president of Whittier college, California, is chairman of the movement, and Ray Newton, of the Friends committee, executive director.

George Lansbury, British laborite, is coming to the United States and will speak in behalf of the effort in 20 cities, from April 1 to May 18. Among American leaders who will tour the country in behalf of the movement during the year are: John Haynes Holmes, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Charles W. Gilkey, Albert W. Palmer, Ernest F. Tittle, Paul H. Douglas, Charles Clayton Morrison, John Nevin Sayre, Bishop E. L. Parsons, Rabbi E. L. Israel and many others.

The campaign's purpose, as explained by Mr. Newton, is "to keep the United States from going to war and to achieve world peace by (1) strengthening pacific alternatives to armed conflict; (2) bringing about such political and economic changes as are essential to a just and peaceable world order; and (3) recruiting and uniting in a dynamic movement all organizations and individuals who are determined not to approve of or participate in war."

Mourn Passing of Dr. Len G. Broughton

Rev. Len G. Broughton, internationally known Baptist minister, died Feb. 22 at his home in Atlanta, Ga., at the age of 72. In the 1890's Dr. Broughton founded the Atlanta Tabernacle and ministered there for 22 years. He later held pastorates in Knoxville, Tenn., and Jacksonville, Fla. From 1914 to 1915 he was minister of Christ church, Westminster Bridge road, London. In recent years Dr. Broughton was engaged in Bible conferences and evangelistic meetings.

Three Church Papers Merge

The union in 1934 of the Evangelical church with the Reformed Church in America has resulted in the uniting of three religious newspapers. The Reformed Church Messenger of Philadelphia, the Evangelical Herald of St. Louis and the Christian World of Cleveland give way to a new periodical with the simple title, the Messenger. Paul S. Leinbach, for many years editor of the Reformed Church Messenger, becomes editor of the new paper and Julius H. Horstmann, formerly of the Evangelical Herald, is made the associate editor.

Death of J. Ritchie Smith, Former Princeton Professor

Dr. J. Ritchie Smith, professor emeritus of homiletics at Princeton seminary, died of a heart attack at his home in Englewood, N. J., at 83 years of age. Dr. Smith held the post of professor of homiletics from 1914 to 1929, when he retired.

Episcopal Body Joins League Against War and Fascism

The Church league for industrial democracy, Episcopal organization, meeting in Baltimore Feb. 22 for its national conference, voted to join the American league against war and fascism. The conference adopted resolutions calling for equality for Negroes and whites for official positions in the Episcopal church. Other resolutions opposed the Kramer anti-sedition bill, approved the cooperative movement and deplored the WPA wage scale.

World Baptists Report Increased Membership

Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke, secretary of the Baptist World association, reports that the membership of the Baptist church throughout the world shows an increase of 183,810 in 1935. The United States accounts for more than 150,000 of these. Continental Europe shows an increase of 6,714, and there is a loss of 1,784 in British figures. Of the 11,492,659 Baptists in the world, 10,192,403 are in North America.

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The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Dangerous Waters

(Jack Holt) (Univ) Fire at sea, mutinous crew and crooked financiers fail to prevent hero's rise to ship-captaincy. Heroism less blatant and comedy more comic than in usual Holt film, but the cheap philanderings of the hero's cheap wife make cheap "romance."

For A: Waste of time. For Y: No. For C: No.

Desire

(Marlene Dietrich, G. Cooper) (Para) Mostly skilful crook drama, smoothly played, and with real comedy values. Then, a glamorous seduction and week's liaison furnishes same old "sex-stuff" of a few years ago. Dietrich, absurdly made up, acts typically. Cooper good.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Unwholesome. For C: No.

Every Saturday Night

(Jed Prouty, Spring Byington) (Fox) One of series planned in domestic comedies, supposedly treating family problems. Well-intentioned story of spoiled children and futile father, but dull acting, confused motivation, stupid ethics and much talk detract somewhat.

For A: Dull. For Y: Poor. For C: No.

Follow the Fleet

(Fred Astaire, Ginger Rogers) (RKO) Pleasing musical comedy in best vein, with engaging hero as breezy gob winning heroine after amusing complications. Refreshingly novel dances, solo and ensemble singing, wholesome romance, genuine comedy. Good fun.

For A: Excellent. For Y: Excellent. For C: Good.

It Had to Happen

(George Raft, Rosalind Russell) Columbia) Immigrant ditch-digger rises, by cheap smartness and rough-neck heroics, to brazen supremacy in city politics and wins richest woman in New York society. Implausible and ethics twisted. Usual Raft "acting" and English.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Lady of Secrets

(Ruth Chatterton, Otto Kruger) (Columbia) Slow-moving but intriguing story of rich girl's long struggle against domineering father. Thwarted by death of her war-time lover, she manages to save her daughter from loveless marriage and wins happiness herself at last.

For A: Good. For Y: Perhaps. For C: No interest.

Love on a Bet

(G. Raymond, Wendy Barrie) (RKO) Outlandish bet starts hero from New York in underwear and without money, to end up in Los Angeles with money, clothes and rich fiancee. Artificial and labored fun for those who laugh easily. Acting mostly of slight merit.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Probably good. For C: Little interest.

The New Gulliver

(Russian production) (Amkino) Extraordinary novelty film presenting Swift's classic with one living actor and countless remarkable puppets. Painstaking, thoughtful, striking. But shuddery puppet motions tire, and usual soviet propaganda permeates and deadens whole.

For A: Novel. For Y: Novel. For C: Perhaps.

Best Recent Films for Family:

I Dream Too Much — Fang and Claw
If You Could Only Cook — Bohemian Girl
Mr. Hobo — Modern Times

Films of Special Interest for Adults:

Two in the Dark — The Lady Consents
Next Time We Love — Ah Wilderness
Tale of Two Cities — Passing of the Third Floor Back

BOOKS RECEIVED

An Augustine Synthesis, arranged by Erich Przywara. Sheed & Ward, $4.00.
The Dean of the Small College, by Clyde A. Milner. Christopher Pub. Co., $1.75.
Nine Above the Law: Our Supreme Court, by John M. Henry. R. T. Lewis Co., Pittsburgh, $3.50.
Depression Island, by Upton Sinclair. Author, Station A. Pasadena, Calif., $1.00.
The Immutable Law, by Jane Revere Burke. Dutton, $1.00.
Punch's Progress, by Forman Brown. Macmillan, $2.00.
The Yankee Bodleys, a Novel, by Naomi Lane Babson. Reynal & Hitchcock, $2.50.
No Friendly Voice, by Robert Maynard Hutchins. University of Chicago Press, $2.00.
The Place of Help, by Oswald Chambers. Dodd, Mead, $1.50.
The Triumph of the Passive Virtues, by Charles E. Cooledge. Stratford, $1.00.
Yankee in Africa, by I. H. and Julie B. Morse. Stratford, $1.50.
Why Democracy? by J. William Hudson. Appleton, $2.00.
Education and Organized Interests in America, by Bruce Raup. Putnams, $2.50.
Christianity and Personality, by John W. Buckham. Round Table, $2.00.
The Battleground Syria and Palestine, by Hilaire Belloc. Lippincott, $4.00.
"Three of Us," by Edwin R. Meiss. Cooperative Publishers, 25 cents.
The Upward Look, by Harold G. Black. Houghton Mifflin, $1.50.
The Dewey School, by K. C. Mayhew. Appleton-Century, $2.50.
Tristan de Luna, by Herbert I. Priestley. Arthur H. Clark Co., $5.00.
The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, by John Maynard Keynes. Harcourt, Brace, $2.00.
The Abandoned Wood, by Monique Saint Helier. Harcourt, Brace, $2.50.
The Man Who Could Work Miracles, by H .G. Wells. Macmillan, $1.35.
Crime's Nemesis, by Luke S. May. Macmillan, $2.00.
Monogram, by G. B. Stern. Macmillan, $2.50.
Snow Covered Wagons, by Julia C. Altrocchi. Macmillan, $2.50.
Puritans in the South Seas, by Louis B. Wright and Mary I. Fry. Holt, $3.00.
Rabble Rouser, by Charles M. Wilson. Longmans Green, $2.00.
Order and Life, by Joseph Needham. Yale U. Press, $2.50.
Religious Liberals and Conservatives, by Thomas A. Symington. Columbia U. (no price given).
A Revival is Coming, by Roger W. Babson. Revell (no price given).
A Wider World for Women, by Lucy W. Peabody. Revell, $1.25.

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